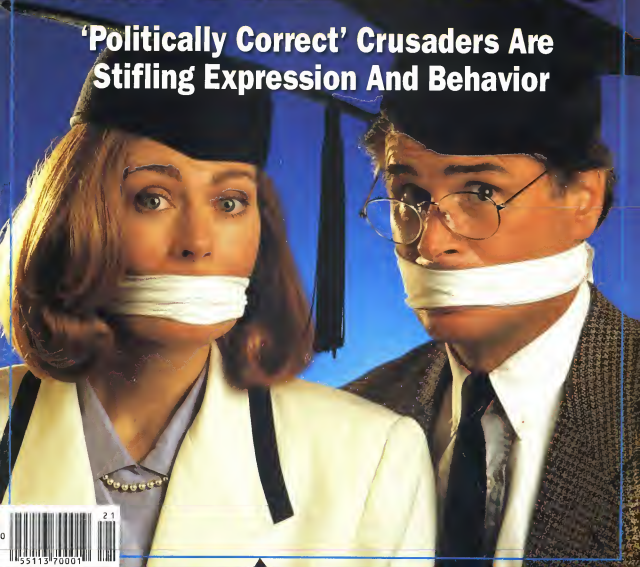


THE AMAZING  
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# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MAY 27, 1991 NO. 104 NO. 31

## CONTENTS

### 4 EDITORIAL

### 6 LETTERS/PASSAGES

### 12 OPENING NOTES

Paul Auld gives his home town a lift; Steve Cameron leaves the 11th estate; Parliament ponders the return of Dudley Douglas; Quebec women find jobs to success; anguished cashiers in an Rude's Drive; a Canadian diplomat speaks up for Prince Edward Island; scandal dogs Buzsácz; Pulitzer; a red face embarrassment; Vietnam Report.

### 15 COLUMN/BARBARA AMIEL

### 16 CANADA

Irish traders blockade Parliament Hill and highways around Toronto; Nova Scotia's Conservative government escapes a critical test; Ottawa orders an inquiry into the admission to Canada of the former Iraqi ambassador.

### 22 WORLD

Winnie Mandela receives a six-year prison sentence; James Baker remains cautiously optimistic on a Middle East peace conference; Soviet conservatives agree delay a liberal travel law; scandal engulfs Edward Kennedy; Queen Elizabeth charms Americans.

### 32 BUSINESS

Bill Rice intervenes in the proposed sale of de Havilland to a European consortium; Moncton turns back a challenge from Bay Street; Elliot Lake, Ont., scrambles to survive.

### 37 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

### 40 COVER

### 54 SPORTS

### 56 MEDIA WATCH/GEORGE BAIN

### 63 PEOPLE

### 64 FILMS

Hollywood puts a feminist spin on the outlaw myth.

### 67 BOOKS

Richard Manley discovers a life beyond speed drives.

### 68 GUEST COLUMN/STEWART MacLEOD

## COVER

### THE SILENCERS

Across North America, academics and others are coming under attack from the so-called politically correct movement. Critics say that the students, political activists and intellectuals who follow the "politically correct" line believe that the domination of society by white males must be ended. In the process, say its critics, the movement threatens to stifle free speech.

— 42

## CANADA

### FIGHTING FOR FAVOR

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government last week presented national unity as the key to renewed economic prosperity for Canada—and Quebec. But two days later, Quebec's Liberal government tabled a bill that calls for a referendum on sovereignty as early as June, 1992.— 16

## SPORTS

### DEFYING THE ODDS

Like classic underdogs, goaltender Jon Casey and the Minnesota North Stars have appended some of hockey's greenhouses to reach the Stanley Cup finals. But then, so have the Pittsburgh Penguins, and while both teams have surprised the experts, they reached the finals as underdogs.

— 54





# The Evils Of The Nons

**N**orth Americans are becoming a society of Nons with alarming clarity. They lack the characteristics of neuroticism, neurosis, post-neurotic-ism, non-problem-identifying and non-solving. To ask for speech on the rocks, rather than maced water or low alcohol wine, at a social gathering guarantees a low-debated checking of disapproval. Speakers are punks at almost any gathering, and not knowing how to properly slay the tongue is using visuals designed for non-solving is almost a bad. Some of the Nons are highly motivated by greater health concerns; others are merely protesting the loss of special-interest groups. But it is their vociferous avoidance towards what they consider to be different habits and ways of life—an attitude—that makes the Nons uncomfortable. Now, in this week's cover package and President George Bush in a maced, late-voiced speech, make clear, they are becoming dangerous as well.

The Nons have taken aim at politics and free speech. And in an address to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor this month, Bush declared: "The notion of 'political correctness' has ignited controversy across the land. Although the movement arose from the laudable desire to ensure every the debate of racism, sexuality and hatred, it represents old problems with new ones. It declares certain topics off-limits, certain viewpoints off-limits and even certain gracious off-limits." The University of Connecticut last year ordered a women's sphere to more off-campus after gay groups protested a sign in her dorms stating "Homonormative." "Homonormative" means "cheat her" and "progress." After she threatened a lawsuit, the university let her move back. At the University of Western Ontario in London, students attacked the classes of Prof. Philippe Routhier, who claims to have evidence of links between race, intelligence and sexual behavior.

Many of the protesters ended up in the Nons are dangerous in the extreme. But in their arrogance, the threat that these protesters pose to freedom of speech and behavior are a far more insidious evil.

*Kevin Wray*



Cover Writer *Tom Frowd* protests that freedom of speech are dangerous.



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## QUESTIONABLE PRIORITIES

I am bitterly disappointed with *Maclean's* for featuring Madonna in a cover story ("Madness?" May 13). As Canada's national newspaper, you should focus on issues that concern all Canadians. By featuring Madonna, you are suggesting that a musician takes priority over more important issues. And it is absurd to fill your pages with material that concerns the epitome of American culture at a time when Canada's cultural identity is in jeopardy.

Mary Lazar  
Rockledge Park, Ont.

I support your decision to put Madonna on the cover. As for all those nationalists who will say that it should have been a Canadian instead, would they have in mind Brian Mulroney, for the last election too?

Markell Klinger  
Windsor, Ont.

You deserve a rap on the knuckles for driving such shocking subheadings as "Spunk" and "Nude" in your Madonna article. Would it not be much more appropriate for you to approach seriously related material with an adult tone of calm and candor, rather than an adolescent look?

Stephen MacLennan  
Victoria

## ARBITRI RESPONDS

A couple of clarifications to "Cut down by and out" (Business, May 12): the article about Canada's forest products industry. Although I did not state, as your critic in Quebec and Newfoundland. In fact, two paper machines were shut down in response to declining demand. However, some of the permanent changes necessary for the industry to survive will mean fewer, but more competitive, facilities. These changes will require co-operation among industry, labor and government.

Robert Lavoie  
Senior Vice-President, Abitibi-Price Inc.,  
Timmins

## SHOPPING WARS

I am deeply concerned by the fact that so many Canadians spend so much money across the border ("Shopping binge" Cover, April 26). Do they not realize how much they are leaving the economy behind as they search for imaginary savings? I agree that we are overtaxed. But if these same people who go on cross-border shopping sprees were to lose such social services as medical benefits and pensions, how much of a saving would that be?

Frank A. Biles  
Dunbar, B.C.



Madonna 'epitome' of U.S. culture

Your story about cross-border shopping interested me. As a consumer, I am not the cause of the problem. It is the high taxes in tax havens including the CRR, that should be blamed. By going to areas where I can get more value for my dollar, I am saving my consumer's money.

Gail M. Jorda  
Thunder Bay, Ont.

## PASSAGES

**APPOINTED:** By Socialist President François Mitterrand, France's first woman prime minister, Ralfe Croson, 57, whom the media has called the country's "letting 'Go! Lady' Croson, whom the fifth prime minister appointed by Mitterrand during his 10 years as president, replaces Michel Rocard, who resigned last week after three years in office. A former trade minister, agricultural minister and European affairs minister, Croson is an outspoken opponent of Japan's trade policies and a loyal follower of Mitterrand. Analysts are speculating that Rocard, a longtime rival of Mitterrand's, may have quit in order to prepare to run for president in the 1988 election.

**RETURNING:** Jonathan, 60, Abitibi employee, returned to his home town of Timmins after 10 years in the U.S. to work for the Abitibi-Price Co. Jonathan was the first correspondent since 60 Abitibi first aired in 1966. In 1972, Jonathan left to anchor ABC's evening news, but he returned to the show in 1974.

**RETURNING:** John J. Robson, 64, widely considered to be Canada's pre-eminent criminal lawyer, after 62 years of practice. Robson became well known in 1947 when he successfully defended the conviction of Evelyn Dick, a Hamilton woman who had been sentenced to hang for killing her husband. Robson appeared more than 50 times in the Supreme Court of Canada, on cases ranging from fraud to constitutional issues.

Your articles on the tendency of some Canadians to shop in American border cities underscore the fundamental difference between Canada and the United States. Americans can produce vast quantities of wealth including consumer goods, but cannot fairly distribute it. Canada is just the opposite. Whenever the vehicle may be in lowering the cost of Canadian goods, it should not come at the expense of Canada's basic democracy and egalitarianism.

William J. Volante  
Dunbar, N.J.

## A 'TROUBLING' OBSERVATION

Your review of Timson Highway's play *Dry Lips Drip Like Mine to Kapuskasing* ("Nine lives gone," Theatre April 26) was troubling in parts. The play's opening-night audience is described as being composed of "the well-to-do" on the one hand and "naïve people in formal evening attire" on the other. Do what basis do you assume that these well-dressed members of our first nation are themselves not well-to-do?

I. W. Shields and E. A. Grant  
Ottawa

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**HARBOR:** In the bride's home town of Aylmer, Que., Isabelle Duchesneau, 27, and Christopher Dean, 32, Duchesneau and her brother Paul won the gold medal for ice dancing at the World Figure Skating Championships in March in March. The two stars for France because they failed to make the Canadian team in 1985. In 1984, Dean, with his partner Jayne Torvill, won the Olympic gold for ice dancing.

**DEED:** Criminal lawyer Rodney Lathin, 63, in Montreal, after being shot several times by an unknown gunman. Police said that they believe the gunman was a member of Lathin's family. Lathin had recently failed to obtain acquittals for three members of a notorious drug cartel who were subsequently sentenced to long jail terms for serious drug-related offences.



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I find time that I could give to someone else. Jean-Paul Blais, Montreal Shell employee, is a volunteer with The Conscience of Quebec where he gives self-help support and understanding to parents who have lost children. Jean-Paul is also a Big Brother.

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# OPENING NOTES

Joe Clark gets an apology, Paul Anka invests in the Senators, and Stevie Cameron leaves *the fifth estate*

## MUSIC TO A FAN'S EARS

Onetime-boss singer Paul Anka delighted the capital's hockey fans with last week's announcement that he will become a part-owner of the newly franchised Ottawa Senators. In an interview with *Maclean's* last week, the man who has mentored two generations of pop-music fans with such hits as *Dimed* and *Puppy Love* said that his decision represents a homecoming. Said Anka, who left Ottawa for the United States and international stardom in 1959: "It's emotional, it's in the sense that life is busy, it is indeed a stride." He added: "We all have hometown legends, but this involves the community. I started out in



Anka: an excellent homecoming

Ottawa and I'm very proud of that." Asked about rumors that he will sign the national anthem at Senators games, he replied: "I would be glad to sing it. In fact, I had composed to sing it." But he acknowledged that he may have difficulty with the French lyrics to *O Canada*. Still, he said, "After 30 years in the business, I think I can get through it. This is not because here you're telling me." Anka's financial adviser, Donald Abraham, said that Anka's investment, which will be about \$15 million, includes a portion of the team, a planned new stadium and the land it will occupy. And former Ottawa mayor James Dorrell, president of the new franchise, said that he is thrilled with the arrangement. Declared Dorrell, who has lived on Paul Anka Drive in Ottawa since 1980: "Can you believe it? I think of him every day."

## Getting back to the real basics of life

A few past issues of *Maclean's* current affairs pages the 50th anniversary of Stevie Cameron has decided to call it quits and return to the world of just, plain, life. Cameron, who spent seven years as a columnist and investigative reporter for the *Toronto Globe and Mail* before joining the *CTC* last fall, told *Maclean's*: "The *CTC* has been good. I've enjoyed it, but it's not the kind of work I do." Cameron said another *Globe* reporter, Victor Maderick, issued a six-line year when they joined the *CTC*. Cameron is currently completing a book about her father, Wilbur Dail, whom she describes as "an American soldier of fortune and a bread of *Newsweek*." She will also write a national affairs column for the *Globe*. Cameron, who is known for her hard-nosed investigative reporting, said that although television does not suit her, "it was still one of the



Cameron: a newspaperwoman at heart

best years of my life, and I would do it all again. I will be a much better reporter for some of the skills I learned there." She said the new site is "just glad to be working around with someone again." Live and learn.

## MOUNTING A MOUNTIE MOVIE

One of Canada's most endearing stereotypes, the scarlet-coated Dudley Do-Right, may be headed for the silver screen. A spokesman for Paramount Pictures says that studio executives are considering making a movie based on the clumsy but good-hearted Mountie. Although he began as an animated character created by Jay Ward, who also created *Rocky the Squirrel* and *Batwinkle the Moose*, the doughy Dudley will be a man of flesh and blood in the movie. Producers are hoping to cast Robin Williams. Will they get their man?

## THEY HAVE COME A LONG WAY

A recent poll conducted for *Châtelaine* magazine found that most Quebec women consider marital marriage not child-rearing to be necessary for personal success. And editor Madeleine Lachance says that she was startled by the results. In a spokeswoman survey published in the June edition of the French-language magazine, about 68 per cent of the 530 women polled considered their jobs to be the most important ingredient for success. Said Lachance: "Nobody would be surprised if men



Quebec: francophone favorite

### Recess: anglo pick



and that, but what's new is that women are saying it. In Quebec, it is another sign that the influence of the church in these matters is low." But when *Châtelaine* asked women when they started work in Quebec, the province's two oldest women appeared to surface. The top choice among francophone women: corporate secretary Lucie Foyette, who during the 1960s leveraged her career as a pre-adolescent woman in "Twins." Quebec's double female stereotypes. Anglophone women preferred Liberal MP Luc Bouché, the poll showed. Still, Lachance cautioned: "I would not read anything political in the choices."

## Prized Pulitzer



Pulitzer: another scandal

Rebecca Poirer, whose award-winning book *Rebecca* won the Pulitzer Prize in 1982, is named as the other woman in the divorce trial in Palm Beach, Fla., of Jean and Francine de la Moissonne, the daughter of Alberta oil heir Frank McMahon, who died in 1986. The trial has already degenerated into what one local attorney called "a bar-maid-and-busby atmosphere." It is competing for local headlines with the William Kennedy Smith case, another Palm Beach story. And at the center of it stands Poirer, who told the court that Francine de la Moissonne has taught her children to call her unsatisfying spouse. Poirer, a sometime socialist fundraiser and most recently a novelist, testified: "She has three names for me—"the slut," "the slut," and "pussy." But I don't think [the children] understand the meaning of the words." Although Francine de la Moissonne has denied the allegation, the couple said she filed for divorce last October only after learning of her 36-year-old husband's affair with Poirer. Sponsored by her husband's lawyer last week to testify, Francine de la Moissonne returned \$6.27 for her trouble. "That's the most money I ever got from Jean," she said. *Maclean's* at the end and hence

## A vicarious experience

A little indignity goes a long way. A Canadian born woman, Elizabeth Patterson, conducts a "pamper's tour" of Los Angeles's exclusive shopping district, including Rodeo Drive. Patterson, who left Montreal in 1981, guides spendthrift shoppers through such legendary boutiques as Cartier and Tiffany & Co. According to Patterson, store managers frequently roll out the red carpet for her group—even if they do not buy. Said Patterson: "A lot of the stores are proud of their history and delighted to share it." She added: "You get to see diamonds do sparkle in real life."

## A BRAND NEW SPUD ATTACK

Teat and underestimation are often a diplomat's best weapons. But Thomas McMillan, a former Tory MP who is Canada's consul general in New England, recently came out with all guns blazing. In a speech before the Institute of Public Administrators of Canada in Charlestown, he denounced new American restrictions on imports of P.E.I. potatoes. Said McMillan: "America at Green Golden is a violation of child abuse at the hands of Uncle Sam." Although American farmers have expressed concern that a P.E.I. spud virus will spread to northeastern states, McMillan cautioned: "The way the U.S. authorities have responded to the virus has been as brutally heavy-handed as it has been unwarranted." Definitely underplayed.

## A RED-FACED PUBLISHER

The dusty Alberta-based women's page, *Woman's*

offered a lengthy apology in the following issue. McMillan wrote that Clark's nasty complexion became "deeply embarrassing" because the magazine has been accused of publishing "controversial" news. He said McMillan's but Clark's office did not call to complain about the cover. Said McMillan: "The moment I walked into the office and saw the magazine, I thought, 'So here we go.' I thought I might have been, but I decided as apology is half of my life. But Luck Byfield, the magazine would be with you." Another case of being time in explaining the cover by



Clark just raking it on the chin





# FIGHTING FOR FAVOR

## HIGH HOPES AND SHRUNKEN BUDGETS MARK THE TORY PLAN FOR A NEW SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

Gave Gen. Ramon Montcalm opened the third session of Canada's 34th Parliament last week with a speech from the throne that, in the government's words, signalled "a turning point in Canadian history." But for an administration that is seeking a fresh approach to the future, the unadvised problems of the present were impossible to ignore. Just one day after House ships outlined a federal plan to bolster national unity, Lucien Bouchard, the leader of the separatist Bloc Québécois and once a close friend of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's, accused his former ally of preparing "to strike against Quebec." The next day, Québec's Liberal government belated a bill that, if passed, would permit it to hold a referendum on sovereignty within 13 months. In reply, a tough-talking Mulroney said the House of Commons that a separate Quebec would face "economic disaster."

As Parliament resumed after a 36-day recess, such angry exchanges over the Constitution showed the government's efforts to deal with a welter of problems that have driven Mulroney's Conservatives to record lows in public opinion polls. In what one observer to the Prime Minister described as a "two-track" strategy, the throne speech concentrated on looking national unity to the need for Canadian commerce and industry to become internationally competitive. Other initiatives included the appointment of Justice Chief Justice Brian Dickson to advise the government on the creation of a royal commission on aboriginal issues, and the promise of a "blue ribbon" panel to study violent against women. The throne speech, which was drafted by senior officials including Clerk of the Privy Council Paul Teller and Herman Spector, the Prime Minister's chief of staff, and which Mulroney himself polished, also committed the government to try to negoti-



Mulroney and Montcalm in Senate on throne-speech day: unity and prosperity

late the removal of more than 500 barriers to interprovincial trade by 1995. In addition, it promised steps to make members of Parliament more responsive to their constituents. Those ambitious plans, however, appeared to rest on a mixture of high hopes and low-budget programs. In fact, although the word "prosperity" was uttered no fewer than 17 times in the 25-minute throne speech, the address was almost devoid of references to new programs or legislation. And many financial analysts said that they were baffled by the government's forecast that Canadian revenues would rise by 25 per cent by the end of the century. Said Douglas Peters, the chief economist of the Toronto-Dominion Bank, for one: "I

am in favor of prosperity—and the government should be in favor of it, too. If just we [there was something in the throne speech that would get us there."

In fact, the speech did include a declaration that the government intends to foster "a learning culture" throughout Canada in order to promote productivity. That was greeted with outright incredulity in academic circles, which have witnessed cuts in federal funding of postsecondary education in the past two years but gets Robert Kerr, president of the Canadian Association of University Teachers, noted that the government cuts have stripped \$500 million from postsecondary education since 1989. Added Kerr: "Yet the government has

the gall to call on universities to double the number of graduates in science, engineering and mathematics. It should get its money where its mouth is."

Quebec officials, meanwhile, denounced the declaration as a belated intrusion into provincial jurisdiction over education. Said G. R. Mitchell, Québec's intergovernmental affairs minister: "If we want to have efficiency in this country, we should avoid contradictions." In the Commons, the reference to interprovincial educational initiatives provoked a heated exchange be-

tween Mulroney and Lapierre, who was also to "have the words of peace and wisdom across Canada." The Conservative is to report its feelings by the end of next January. At that point, according to the throne speech, the government plans to introduce legislation relating to "provide for greater participation of Canadian men and women in constitutional change." That participation could take the form of either a nationwide referendum or, draft amendments to a constitutionally empowered to demand actual changes. However, Mulroney appeared to dismiss the assembly option last week when he declared: "There is no genuine consensus assembly than the House of Commons."

In keeping with the government's efforts to connect the public that it wants to keep partisan politics out of the constitutional process, both Mulroney and Conservative Affairs Minister Joe Clark said that they hope to work closely with Liberal Leader Jesse Chretien and his cabinet. Party Leader Audrey McLaughlin, the opposition leader, said that they are prepared to do so—with some reservations. Chretien, asked whether he could work with the government on its announced constitutional initiative, replied: "I have no choice—I want to see the package of proposals." That remark later led Mulroney to declare that Chretien and Mulroney are now "allies" who "march hand in hand against Quebec."

Mulroney's advisers acknowledge that Québec's plans for a permanent referendum may challenge their own timetable. Under terms of the legislation tabled in the National Assembly last week, the province plans to hold a referendum on sovereignty next year during one of two periods: either between June 8 and 22, or between Oct. 12 and 29. A majority "yes" vote could lead the province to declare its independence one year later. But the ambiguity worried Québec, who also would advise Premier Robert Bourassa's government to avoid any referendum on sovereignty if, in the meantime, it receives a formal offer of constitutional reform from the rest of the country that it considers acceptable. Giving that promise, close advisers to Bourassa insisted last week that the legislation demonstrates Québec's desire to reach a new constitutional agreement with the rest of Canada. Said one: "We are saying we want Quebec in Canada, and we are saying what we can try to maintain that. Before we can do that, we need to know from Mulroney—who knows this week for a 12-day to Hong Kong and Tokyo—can afford to ignore the other's intractable and political positions. And in fact, the two men are in frequent contact. They conferred by telephone shortly before the Québec bill was introduced. As a result of the call, said an adviser to Mulroney, "There was nothing in [the bill] we had not known about. We are satisfied they are seeing in good faith." As Mulroney strives to salvage his government's popularity and the country's future, that commodity may become increasingly important.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH  
and GLEN ALLAN in Ottawa

## National Notes

### CUTTING THE MILITARY

Clinging the end of the Cold War and "rigorous financial constraints imposed on all government departments," Defence Minister Marcel Massé announced plans to reduce Canada's defence personnel to 100,000 by 1995. Among the key cuts: the elimination of nearly 1,000 personnel this fiscal year, including the planned purchase of northern terrain vehicles for the army, and a 1,000-vehicle reduction in ammunition stocks over five years.

### NO LONGER TRIPLE-A

A New York bond-rating agency, Moody's Investors Service, lowered its rating of Ontario credit standing by one notch from triple-A to double-BB—three notches below the highest rating. Moody's estimated would cost Ontario about \$15 million in additional interest payments over the next five years. In its rating, Moody's cited that the province had \$4.7-billion deficit last year, projected to rise to \$4.9 billion in 1994.

### STRIKE PAINS

A strike by Saskatchewan's 6,000 nurses, who walked off the job on May 18 after contract negotiations broke down, led hospital officials to discharge hundreds of patients and transfer more than 40 critically ill people to hospitals in other provinces.

### A FIRST FOR THE RCMP

Robert Singh, 46, was the first member of the RCMP to wear a turban as uniform. Singh was inducted, wearing a beige turban instead of the broad-brimmed Mountie hat, 14 months after RCMP Commissioner Newton Johnston said that Sikh members of the force would be permitted to wear while on duty their head covering that is required by their religion.

### SETTING ON THE FENCE

Forty-one per cent of voters in a weekly Gallup Canada poll on party preference declined to choose—the highest rate of "undecideds" in 18 years.

### SETBACK FOR VANDER ZALM

British Columbia Supreme Court Chief Justice Wilson Brown rejected former B.C. premier Vander Zalm's request that the court set aside a finding by conflict-of-interest commissioner Edward Hughes that Vander Zalm violated his own ethics guidelines during the sale of the Pacific Gardens (since part last September) to a new owner. The court left jurisdiction to review the dispute, which caused Vander Zalm to resign on April 2.

# Hitting the road

Truckers deliver heavy cargoes of anger

When we learn that, in Ontario, the parade of vehicles on Ottawa's downtown Wellington Street resembled a national wedding cavalcade, that the road among the long-distance truckers who muscled through Parliament Hill—and the highways more who crowded monumental traffic jams on major highways surrounding Toronto last week—was anything but celebratory. Confronted by heightened American competition in Canada's mounting costs, rising prices and a soaring toll of bankruptcy

in Ontario in 1989. That dereliction of the industry permits American-owned trucking companies freer access to co-operate in Canada while the Canadian truckers remain prey to higher Canadian taxes and other costs, not assistance to diesel fuel and tires. And truckers James Dempsey, from Stouffville, Ont. "We are fighting for all Canadians who want to see some light at the end of the tunnel."

Indeed, the truckers' complaints echoed similar charges levelled at other sectors of the

States—and U.S. truckers are allowed to write off their amortization against income tax three times as quickly as Canadian truck owners. As well, copayment, repairs and fuel are all significantly lower in the east south of the border. Insurance rates in the United States average \$6,000 a year, compared with \$13,000 in Canada.

Overall, declared David Bradley, vice-president of the Ontario Trucking Association, a group representing 500 Ontario trucking companies, U.S. carriers have an operating cost advantage of between 10 and 30 per cent. At the same time, Bradley noted that the federal government has endorsed Canadian competitiveness as a central goal of its economic policy—which means Canadian value truckers' competitiveness. And Bradley "This is a real conundrum."

It is a conundrum that has exacted a severe toll among Canadian truckers. In 1990, a total of 405 trucking companies went bankrupt, up by 74 per cent over the previous year. In Ontario, with nearly 40 per cent of the nation's trucking activity, business failures soared by 156 per cent.

In fact, however, there are few expert estimates in the truckers' profession. For their part, the drivers demanded that government begin by reducing those taxes on diesel fuel and declaring a moratorium on trans-border trucking licenses. But Corbett, who had opposed critics that he is inviting the results of seven separate studies on trucks' costs—launched after last spring's black-out—cautioned that "there are no quick fixes." And he emerged from a series of meetings with truckers and their union with no proposals for immediate action to remedy their complaints, other than arranging for a series of further meetings between representatives of the truckers and federal officials.

By the start of the Victoria Day weekend, most of the last week's protest had ended. By Monday, by up to 1,300 trucks that snarled traffic around Toronto at midnight began to break up after 24 hours, when Ontario Provincial Police began issuing traffic tickets and threatening drivers with criminal prosecutions that could have jeopardized their ability to enter the United States. Still, the truckers were clearly aware of their plight—and willing to employ it. "It's not like a very physical thing," said St. Catharines, Ont., driver Donald Acton. "It's not like your ordinary protest. And you're going to see a lot of us this summer." With the truckers' protest set to stay on in hitting traffic to a standstill, that is clearly a prospect that many legislators dread.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

# Safe—on a technicality

Nova Scotia's Tories survive a challenge



McLean (right) shaking off a legacy of scandal, climbing back in the polls

As the debate began, Premier Donald Cameron's grim expression in the Nova Scotia legislature reflected his government's precarious position. Both the opposition Liberals and the New Democrats were running to topple his Conservative government as a vote on a motion of non-confidence following the presentation of an action proposal behind earlier last week by Finance Minister Gregory Kerr. And with his Tories holding a slim, one-seat majority, the premier's concern extended beyond the opposition benches.

A number of disgruntled Tories had also publicly criticized the \$1.5-billion budget—leading to speculation that they would now support the government. But at the end, the Conservatives escaped the critical test of their legislative support when Speaker Ronald Russell, also a Conservative M.A., ruled the non-confidence motion inadmissible. Cameron reacted to the tactic of events with bravado. "We can record tonight that they were going to defeat us, so we was anxious to have the vote," he said. "It would show their's more paid to those people than anything else."

For others, the ruling gave rise to anger rather than rage. In the House, Liberal Leader Vancor MacLean engaged in a heated exchange with Russell over the Speaker's decision. MacLean said that because the Liberal motion of non-confidence had more at the middle of the

budget debate, rather than at the end, as in a confidence vote, it was not a confidence vote. But MacLean accused Russell of playing partisan politics. "You have effectively set, acted on behalf of the government," he said. Support Russell as reply. "Withdraw that remark." Acknowledging that his statement contravened parliamentary protocol, the Liberal leader shut back. "Unfortunately, I have to. But your honor has ruled the opposite."

In fact, MacLean said that it will be at least a month before the opposition has a chance to defeat the government on a non-confidence motion. Until then, Cameron, who saw the Tory leadership in February, will continue to walk a political tightrope. His party holds only 36 seats in the 55-seat legislature—outnumbered by Russell, who voted only in the event of a tie. Armed against the government are 20 Liberals and two New Democrats, while more Tory Richard Thorburn sits as an independent. The government's slim hold on power will be tested on Aug. 27 when a by-election in the riding of Hantsburg will pit the seat of former premier John Buchanan, who accepted a Senate appointment last September and is at the centre of controversy over possible secret payments from the Tory party and a private trust fund.

Further complicating Cameron's calculations is the uncertain allegiance of Thorburn, a

former deputy premier. The party former member of Parliament resigned from the caucus last February shortly after a close second in the party's leadership race—only after being charged with 37 counts of fraud, bribery and concealing illegal benefits. Thorburn strongly criticized the budget, as did disgruntled Conservatives such as Colin Stewart—who was excluded from Cameron's cabinet. Last week, their loyalty to Cameron's government remained uncertain, leading analysts to question the Tories' hold on power. Noted Brian Crowley, a political scientist at Halifax's Dalhousie University. "This government could be brought down by something as minor as an awkward vote during a important vote."

Such a vote would force the Tories to enter an election campaign from a position well behind the rival Liberals in opinion polls. In the most recent poll published by poll, conducted before the budget and released last week by Halifax-based Corporate Research Associates Ltd., 38 per cent of decided voters said that they would support MacLean's Liberals as an election, compared with 29 per cent for the Tories. Another 26 per cent said they would. According to most analysts, the low Tory standing is due in large part to the scandals revolving around the former Buchanan government.

But Cameron's attempts to shake off Buchanan's legacy are clearly having an effect. In an gesture earlier this month, his government tabled a bill to force provincial politicians to disclose all sources of personal income. And last week's poll, while still favouring the Liberals, showed that the Conservatives had emerged from the third-place ranking that they occupied when Cameron resigned the leadership in February.

As well, last week's budget was clearly less painful than earlier ones. Cameron had feared Kerr introduced new tax items—while allowing spending to increase by a slight 4.3 per cent. Despite that, some Nova Scotians reacted angrily to the document. Among representing the province's 49,000 government employees protesting a government plan to lay off 1,000 in the next few months. In fact, said Dalhousie political scientist Andrew Hare, "This is a budget which effected few people—and one on which the government could confidently rest its election campaign."

In the meantime, Cameron is waiting for a call to election until 1993. Some party members, however, are urging Cameron to go to the polls as early as this summer to capitalize on his rising popularity—and to pre-empt the possibility of further emboldenments arising from either the RCMP investigation or the charges against Thorburn. Other Tories say that Cameron needs more time to distance himself from the Buchanan legacy. For his part, Cameron appears intent on continuing with his legislative agenda. "The kinds of reforms I speak of are important for Nova Scotia," he told the assembly. "I don't want to see a government and efforts to be a difficult act for a man willing the political back legs."

JOHN DEMONT in Halifax



Convoy block in Toronto-area highway: 'We're losing our trucks, our houses, everything'

with an industry that employs 600,000 Canadians, truckers delivered their concerns to dozens of legislators in both Ottawa and Toronto. Said David Wallace, a 44-year-old trucker from Fort Perry, Ont.: "I'm not worth-while of Toronto." "We're losing our trucks, our houses, everything. We can't go on this way." Added Wallace, who was one of more than 100 drivers gathered at the stop, week-long Parliament Hill rally. "Something has to give—and it will be the government this time, not us." That challenge reflected the depth of bitterness among the heavy-truck agencies who say that their complaints to federal and provincial governments have not been fully addressed. Last week's protest took place almost exactly one year after similar demonstrations blocked roads and border points from Quebec to British Columbia. Since then, the main focus of the drivers' anger has been ensuring the policy of deregulation introduced by the federal government in 1989 and the former Liberal gov-

ernment in Ontario in 1989. That deregulation of the industry permits American-owned trucking companies freer access to co-operate in Canada while the Canadian truckers remain prey to higher Canadian taxes and other costs, not assistance to diesel fuel and tires. And truckers James Dempsey, from Stouffville, Ont. "We are fighting for all Canadians who want to see some light at the end of the tunnel."

Although Corbett stated in Parliament that recent bankruptcies are due to "the cynical nature of the trucking industry," there is no doubt that Canadian truckers pay more to stay on the road than American drivers. Federal on-truck purchase loans, for one thing, is several percentage points lower in the United

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## CANADA



Viktor (left), McDougall the politicians blamed their civil servants

## Bungle or coverup?

The Mashaat affair sparks an Ottawa inquiry

A first it prompted colorful comparisons to espionage plots and high-level coverups. In the closing days of the Gulf War, top-ranking Iraqi diplomat Mohamed al-Mashaat—his latest posting was as Saddam Hussein's envoy in Washington—had reportedly requested and then received highly expedited permission to enter Canada as a landed immigrant. Interpretation is the core media frenzy from suggestions that Canadian officials had requested a visa deferral to speculate that intelligence agencies of the United States had covertly arranged for a helpful former enemy to receive asylum in Canada. But last week, as further tantalizing details

trickled in, both telephoned External Affairs officials on the same day to draw attention to Mashaat's desire to enter Canada. Almost as unusual was a statement issued by McDougall and Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt earlier last week. In it, the two ministers dismissed suggestions that Mashaat's arrival was the result of any "hidden motives...espionage, covert [or] compromise by any individual or governmental agency—either Canadian or foreign." Still, McDougall asserted that a "whole series of events of judgment" accompanied the processing of Mashaat's application for entry—and the ministers jointly blamed two senior officials, Raymond Charbon, who

co-ordinates entry of stateless persons, and David Dedman, former external affairs minister. Joe Clark's chief of staff.

But if the reasons for Mashaat's quick entry were so more recent than week's end, the several accounts that emerged at least made the sequence of events somewhat clearer. On the day before war broke out in the Persian Gulf on Jan. 16, Mashaat left his post in Washington on orders from Baghdad. Two days later, in Kuwait, he and his wife awaited a flight to the Iraqi capital from Vienna, the diplomat's wife,

### Mashaat as politician



Suzanne Mashaat, became ill, and the couple decided to remain in Austria to seek medical attention for her. Still in Vienna six weeks later, and with someone in the Gulf just hours away, Mashaat telephoned an Iraqi-Canadian friend in Toronto, Javed Hashim—and informed him that he did not want to return to Iraq. Instead, Mashaat told his friend that he wanted to come to Canada. Hashim turned for assistance to a lawyer who had acted for him in the past, Sidney Lederman—a member of the Toronto law firm of Stikeman Elliott, where Gotlib is a partner—said to Gotlib, whom he had met socially only a day earlier.

Hours later, on Feb. 27, both Gotlib and Gotlib's friend called to External in Ottawa to draw attention to the possibility that a high-ranking Iraqi official might be seeking asylum—or wish to defect to Canada. Last week, Gotlib wrote in *The Financial Post* that he had thought that "it would be a real coup for Canada to bag a top Iraqi defector." But Gotlib, who said last week that he did not know Mashaat's identity when he telephoned a former diplomatic colleague at External—Raymond Charbon—insisted that he had acted "totally on humanitarian grounds" after Lederman had told him that the Iraqi's life was at risk.

Whether their motives, the two calls were followed by busy conversations of Mashaat's potential value as a defector. Within 48 hours, according to a review by senior officials in Valcourt's and McDougall's departments released last week, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service had assessed Mashaat's value as an espionage source, the threat to his own safety and the security risk he might pose to Canada. CISC concluded that Mashaat had little information to offer and was neither in danger nor a security risk. By March 1, the interdepartmental committee on defectors had concluded that Mashaat did not qualify as a defector. Still, the review noted that Charbon advised his staff to proceed "with a sense of urgency." And on March 7, Mashaat and his family were spontaneously accepted as immigrants. On March 30, the couple arrived in Canada.

Since then, the frenzy has faded their new life scarcely less turbulent than their old one. After reporters traced the couple to the North Vancouver home that Mashaat bought on May 2, the couple got it back on the market and moved to an unattached bungalow. And in Ottawa, government policies continued to insist that key cabinet ministers know more about the affair—and know about it earlier—than they have so far acknowledged. For one thing, last week's review indicated that Clark of the Perry Commission Paul Teller—Ottawa's most senior bureaucrat—was aware of Mashaat's application more than a month before any cabinet minister has acknowledged knowing about it. That account of events, declared Liberal MP Lloyd Axworthy, was "full of holes, omissions and a bucketful of whitewash." Added Axworthy: "It stinks like a sewer hole." Finally, the present parliamentary inquiry would ensure that Mashaat remained at the centre of public attention for some time to come—only in retirement. □

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Inkatha warriors prepare for battle; a rising death toll showed that the weapons were more than merely ceremonial

## WORLD

# MANDELA'S PAIN

Looking more like a victorious champion than a convicted felon, Winnie Mandela smiled broadly as she emerged from the East London Court in Johannesburg last week and, to the cheers of hundreds of well-wishers, pursued the air in her customary clenched-fist salute. Her sentence, six years' imprisonment for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, twice abbreviated, as in old Johannesburg, was a more orderly post-trial scene. Facing reporters and cameramen, the African National Congress (ANC) leader conferred his faith in his wife's innocence and urged his fellow blacks to let the Appellate Court have the final word. But his own appearance—and the fact that he had kept a speaking engagement, 1,250 kilometers from Johannesburg even though it took place on the day of his wife's sentencing—banned at most harrow. Still, political analyst Robert

## THE TALKS ARE AT RISK, THE KILLINGS GO ON—AND WINNIE IS CONVICTED OF KIDNAPPING

Schrie of Cape Town University "There may be a deep conflict between Nelson the lawyer and Nelson the bandit."

With a lengthy appeal process under way, Winnie Mandela remained on a modest bail of \$50, was not likely to start serving her sen-

tence for at least a year—if ever. But her trial and conviction could not have come at a more tense for the ANC and the infant government of President F. W. de Klerk, of Klerk, Controversy and violence between the ANC and the rival Inkatha movement, allegedly fomented by de Klerk, who approached the state government, had already jeopardized the start of constitutional negotiations. And now, the outcome of the trial, causing a rift among ANC radicals, posed a new threat to the talks. To exiles, among South Africa's 3 million blacks, Winnie Mandela was a discredited figure. But to the younger and more extreme elements, she remained a heroine and "the mother of the nation." As a result, it remained uncertain whether Nelson Mandela would lead an ANC delegation in negotiations with the all-white government. Said Khehla Shiba, editor of the black weekly newspaper *City Press*: "How can anyone expect Mandela to go about his

business without his wife? How can he sit at the negotiating table with de Klerk with his wife behind him?"

The public around the world who once admired her, the sentencing of the Inkatha, 56-year-old Mandela completed a process of growing disillusionment. The years after her husband was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for treason, she was seen as a courageous wife and mother—and the leader of the fight. At various times, she suffered detention, solitary confinement, internal exile and house arrest under South Africa's harsh apartheid laws. Then, in 1986, at the height of a nation-wide uprising in the black townships, her heroic image began to tarnish. In a widely reported speech, she declared that "we will liberate this country with our matches and neckties"—clearly advocating the grisly method of murdering suspected collaborators by placing gasoline-soaked tires around their necks and setting them on fire.

Mandela soon became a highly controversial figure in Soweto, the sprawling black township near Johannesburg, by surrounding himself with a group of young hooligans called

cousins of the football team, Jerry Richardson, was found guilty of murder and a sweltering conviction.

Designing any part in the kidnapping and assault that preceded the murder, Winnie Mandela claimed at her trial that she was 300 km away in the Orange Free State at the time. But Justice Michael Steyn ruled that she was an accessory to the assault and the abduction of the kidnapping. His opinion said that to suggest that her co-defendants, John Morgan and Kholiso Phiso, had carried out the kidnapping plot without her was "like trying to outstage Mandela without the prince." He sentenced 37-year-old Phiso to six years and 61-year-old Morgan to a similar suspended sentence. Four other co-defendants jumped bail and disappeared. Acknowledging his verdict, Steyn described Mandela as a "calm, composed, determined and unflinching liar." Still, the judge found that despite evidence to the contrary, she was not guilty of the last three parts in the beatings herself. And as she swayed sentencing, she cited that failing as a personal justification. "As long as you now know that I did not commit any crime, that's all that matters to me," she told reporters.

Whatever the outcome of her appeal, the allegations against Mandela have seriously affected her standing in the black community. When she was named last August to head the ANC's social welfare department, more than 100 letters around the country registered vigorous protests. And during ANC Women's League elections last month, she failed to win for the presidency that she clearly retains the loyalty of the ANC's powerful and militant youth wing and of older radicals within the ANC hierarchy, who according to analysts increasingly find themselves at odds with the moderate wing led by her 61-year-old husband.

In the aftermath of his wife's conviction last week, Nelson Mandela insisted that the case had no bearing on the long-delayed and deeply outcasted negotiating process. Whether the talks were converted to end depended on whether the government complied with the demands for measures to stop the black-against-black township violence that has claimed 5,000 lives in the past four years. Those demands include for leading members of the rival, Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party to give such weapons as spears and clubs, which the Zulus insist are nearly ceremonial, and dismissing Delport Minister Magnus Malen and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The ANC chief, that propaganda right wingers in the security forces have named Inkatha attacks on ANC supporters. And in a speech last Thursday, Nelson Mandela declared: "If the government does not bar the carrying of spears in public, there is no question of negotiations." South Africa's hopes for a peaceful transition to majority rule appeared to be hanging by a thread—and Winnie Mandela's defeat at the court was clearly only part of the problem.

JOHN BERKMAN with GARY BERKMAN in Cape Town



Winnie Mandela: a defiant salute

the Mandela United Football Club. They never played a single organized game of soccer. Instead, they spread fear throughout the township with a series of assaults, rapes and murders. These actions culminated in the crime for which Mandela was convicted last week—the 1986 abduction of four black youths from a Methodist Church hostel. Evidence showed that Mandela's hooligans took the victims to her Soweto home, where they beat them up and savagely beat them (one of the youths, 16-year-old James (Shange) Molekane, began, was later found dead. Subsequently, the so-called

## World Notes

### A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

Yugoslavia was left without a leader when the republic of Serbia and its allies on the collective, eight-member state presidency presented Stjepan Mesić, a Croat, from an opposition President Radoslav Jović. Serb, by mutual consent, Kraljevo between Communist Serbia, which favors federalism, a centrally ruled Yugoslav federation of six republics and two provinces, and non-Communist Croats, which advocates a loose structure of autonomy. It has pushed the Balkan country to the brink of civil war.

### ABYSS BANGLADESH

On their way to Calcutta from the Persian Gulf, 6,000 U.S. merchant and military ships in Bangladesh help survivors of the devastation. April 30 cyclone that killed more than 130,000 people and left an estimated four million facing floods, hunger and disease. The U.S. and others began distributing the hundreds of tons of food and clothing arriving daily from donor nations, including Canada. The American said that they also planned to transport the coastal population threatened by floods, and to build damaged bridges and communications facilities.

### HANDING A NEW SPY MASTER

President George Bush nominated Robert Gates 47, an director of the Central Intelligence Agency, in 1987, then-President Ronald Reagan chose Gates for the same position, but the veteran CIA analyst withdrew during Senate confirmation hearings because of allegations that he had been involved in the Iran-contra scandal. If confirmed, Gates will replace William Webster who is retiring after four years in the post.

### A DEADLY CRASH

Japanese railway officials blamed a signal malfunction for a head-on collision between two passenger trains that killed 41 people and injured more than 400 others outside Kyoto. It was Japan's worst train accident since 1963, when a Tokyo commuter train collided with a freight train, killing 161 passengers.

### A DIPLOMATIC FLARE-UP

British Foreign Office member Douglas Hogg denounced Iraq for sponsoring a British engineer to lay underground for espionage Douglas Boyd, 55, was arrested last September while trying to flee from Iraq following its invasion of Kuwait. Hogg said Boyd was "a very busy man" who was on his way for the French oil sector. Britain said there was no reason for the Gulf crisis.

THE MIDDLE EAST

# Talks in a deadly climate

*Baker's peace bid produces optimism—and setbacks*

Less than 24 hours after the end of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's latest Middle East peace shuttle last week, and as Jews and their Shomron (West Bank) holiday shopping, a young Palestinian with a dagger slung into his belt, shot West Jerusalem's Street of the Prophets. Shooting "Alfatah al-hadith" (Violence is good), he stabbed two men and a woman before a crowd of farmers in nearby trapped him in a parking lot. They might have beaten him to death if police had not intervened. Indeed, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir expressed regret that the assassin had been taken alive. In response, opposition Labour MP Jonathan Jary and he was shocked that Shamir had provided a "license to bray." And liberal Israelis who advocate concessions to the Palestinians expressed despair. Said city councillor Amotz Shifman of the left-wing Likud's "Rights party": "This kind of violence both unifies friends and provides fertile ground for those who think the only way for Israel to be strong is with weapons and territory."

Shooting incidents like last Friday's have become almost commonplace as Israel during recent months. Only a day before the secretary's first peace-making visit to Israel in March, an Arab stabbed four Jewish women to death in Jerusalem, then told police that he had done it as "a message to Baker." And after two months of intensive diplomacy in the wake of the Gulf War, it was clear that there will be no quick resolution of the Arab-Israeli problem.

In his shuttle trips to Cairo, Amman, Damascus, Jerusalem and Beirut, Baker was able to get the parties to agree on the ground rules for a peace conference. Indeed, members of his staff had last week on conditions of anonymity that both Arabs and Israelis seemed to be looking for procedural excuses to avoid committing themselves to talks. Still, Baker viewed cautious optimism as he left Israel for Washington last Thursday. "I was not disappointed," he said. "There are many, many more areas of agreement than there are areas of disagreement."

Two major obstacles are currently dwarfing Washington's hope of following up on Shamir's military victory with a diplomatic success in the form of an Arab-Israeli peace conference. The Arabs, notably Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, say that the United Na-

tions must play a major role at the conference, but Shamir says that the world body—which he considers to be anti-Israeli—should be excluded. And while the Arabs want the conference to be a confining and collective event, the Israelis, claiming to fear that they will be outnumbered and subjected to unreasonable pressure, are calling for a largely symbolic opening event. In-



Baker (left) with Shamir: 'many more areas of agreement than of disagreement'

tioned by a series of one-on-one negotiations. Still, there are indications that neither obstacle, concerning Palestinian representation, might have been removed. The Israelis have consistently refused to talk to the PLO. But analysts say that there are signs that Baker has persuaded non-PLO Palestinians from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to sit on a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation—and to settle initially for something less than the full independence demanded by the PLO. A senior U.S. official admitted to that apparent breakthrough when he said, "I think we now have an approach that can be made to work." And after Baker returned to Washington and briefed President George Bush on his visit, Bush sounded even more optimistic. There was now "real cause for optimism," he said.

For his part, Shamir indicated that an understanding had been reached with the Americans when he said after Baker's departure: "We

have agreed on a number of things, but the best is not yet ripe to make them public." And Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak also appeared unexpectedly optimistic on Friday saying that there had been "good steps forward" during Baker's shuttle. Abdel Mawakel, who plays a key mediating role as leader of the only Arab country to have made peace with Israel, "I hope that we can conclude something before the end of the year."

Clearly, a formula that could get Israelis and Palestinians to the conference table would be a major step forward. And it might even be achieved independently of progress on a multi-lateral peace conference. But tensions between Israel and its most powerful and hostile neighbor, Syria, worsened perceptibly last week. Under pressure from the Syrians, the Lebanese government approved a treaty that establishes "total co-ordination" on regional

issues between itself and Damascus. That move led Jewish Defense Minister Moshe Arens to accuse Damascus of posing a threat to the Jewish state by "swallowing up" Lebanon. The Syrians have 80,000 troops in Lebanon, controlling an estimated two-thirds of the country while the Israelis control a 15-kilometer self-declared security zone along the southern border.

Analysts said that the emergence of a new line of tension between Israel and Syria might give any last chance of agreement on the ground rules for a peace conference. And even though the gap between Israelis and Palestinians might have narrowed slightly, the leafy attack on the Street of the Prophets served as a reminder of how a tiny old Israeli can thwart the most potent diplomacy.

JOHN HEERMAN with AP/WIDE WORLD in Jerusalem



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WORLD



Soviet Jews arriving in the Israeli-occupied West Bank: fears of a brain drain

# THE SOVIET UNION

## Passports to freedom

Moscow may soon relax its emigration laws

**E**very weekday, scores of Soviet citizens gather under the Canadian flag that hangs over Stravinsky Square in central Moscow. Last week, as Soviet legislators debated a long-delayed and controversial bill that would ease exit rules, Valentin Kavaler played the crowd outside the pre-revolutionary mansion that houses the Canadian Embassy. The 31-year-old refrigerator repairman has a goal that is likely to be shared by many more of his fellow countrymen: under a less restrictive exit law, paving entry into Canada. To that end, Kavaler and three others would be amongst a soon 24 hours travelling by train from Kishinev, the capital of the southwestern republic of Moldova. That Kavaler likely acknowledged that his chances of becoming a Canadian were slim last year. Others accepted only 2,353 Soviets as emigrants. And he expressed skepticism about the pending Soviet law. Said Kavaler: "It will still be hard getting out—that is up to the Canadians. And there are reasons that those who are leaving will soon have to pay more money to the authorities to get out than."

Certainly, the proposed emigration bill has

sparked passionate debate within the Soviet Union. And it has fuelled concern across Europe that millions of disgruntled Soviets might flee their country's economic and social chaos for a better life in the West. As a result, many European countries have tightened entry requirements for Soviet citizens. In Rome last week, government officials warned that they would deport any Soviet Jews who came to Germany on document visas and then tried to stay permanently.

Soviet opponents of looser travel and emigration laws—including non-officials—have stalled passage of the bill for 18 months for reasons that range from concern over the skilled case of emigrants to the increased cost applications to emigrate that more liberal laws will encourage as exodus of highly educated and skilled workers. But Vyacheslav Borzinsky, the Soviet deputy who is the chief architect of the bill, complains that conservatives are unwilling to grant rights that citizens of other countries now enjoy. Legislative approval, and Borzinsky, "would take the country out of its isolation and onto a broad road of co-operation with all nations."

Although conservative legislators held up approval of the bill again last week, its prospects looked somewhat brighter. The new law would largely formalize a noticeable easing of restrictive emigration policies that has occurred during the past five years under Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. In 1986, only 4,500 people managed to emigrate from the Soviet Union. By 1990, that number had soared to 452,000, with Israel and Germany absorbing most of the departures. To be sure, even critics of the bill gradually acknowledge that pressure from the West, particularly the United States, has helped remove some barriers to emigration. Last week, in fact, as the arrival in Moscow of Chinese Communist party leader Jiang Zemin signalled a thaw between the two neighboring giants, the proponents of a relaxed Soviet law pointedly declared it to be one of the significant steps that the Soviet Union, unlike China, is making towards a more open society.

The new law would take effect in July 1992. Soviet tourists and emigrants with foreign entry visas would be allowed to leave provided that they were not trying to evade criminal charges, had completed their military service and had not had access to state secrets. Some Soviet human rights activists expressed concern that the authorities might abuse these provisions, rendering travel rights meaningless for many. At the same time, however, typical concerns clearly do not alarm the concern of many Soviet conservatives that easing restrictions will encourage the country's most talented people to leave. Indeed, a recent poll found that 59 per cent of the 3,000 respondents dismissed the likelihood of a so-called brain drain. Among the factors cited for that conclusion: language barriers, a lag in Soviet worker training, and foreign countries' emigration quotas.

Despite those obstacles, the number of Soviet emigrants is likely to continue rising. Officials predict that as many as 1.5 million Soviets annually are likely to leave permanently when the new law takes effect. But even the government-controlled daily newspaper *Izvestia* has expressed doubts about a mass exodus—provided the state fails to pledge to shift to a market economy. Declared the paper in a recent commentary: "If the market takes apart the structure of regulations put in place 70 years ago, and if talent is not placated by a shamelessly high income tax system, then there will be no brain drain."

In any event, refrigerator repairman Kavaler is unlikely to join those Soviet emigrants who have moved to Canada. Canadian emigration requirements still favor highly trained workers who are fluent in English or French. Only one member of Kavaler's group from Moldova could speak even rudimentary English, and none of them has skills that are in short supply in Canada. After seven decades, Soviets may soon find it easier to leave their homeland than finding another country willing to take them may prove to be more difficult.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

# Arrow



PADDOCK CLUB  
Arrow

## THE UNITED STATES

# A deepening sex scandal

*A rape case threatens Kennedy's career*

Sex, alcohol and tragedy have often been features as Senator Edward Kennedy's career. On a summer night in 1969, Kennedy drove off a bridge in Chappaquiddick, Mass., killing his 28-year-old passenger, Mary Jo Kopechne, and did not report the accident for 10 hours. Although the episode severely damaged Kennedy's presidential ambitions, he still became one of his country's most powerful legislators. But his accomplishments have been tainted by scandal and allegations of excessive drinking and recklessness—including one widely publicized report that he had sex with a woman in a private dining room of a Washington restaurant. Another week, while Kennedy's wife, Joan, was arranged to be seated on her second drunk-driving charge in three years, the 50-year-old Democratic senator was trying to evade mounting allegations that he obstructed justice during the investigation of an alleged rape involving his nephew, William Smith. Although Massachusetts voters, who

have re-elected Kennedy five times since 1962, tended to ignore his behavior in the past, these are signs that they are now running out of patience. Said Ravi Solafrberg, editorial page editor of *The Boston Globe*: "People who have been Kennedy supporters since they have had it with him."

The incident under investigation occurred on March 30 at the Kennedy seaside mansion in Palm Beach, Fla., where a 20-year-old woman alleged that Smith raped her. Police subsequently charged him with sexual battery, the legal term for rape in Florida, and an arraignment is set for May 31. Last week, local police released a damning 1,500-page report into the incident. It includes

depositions taken from Kennedy and his son Patrick, 23, a Rhode Island state senator, as well as transcripts of dozens of interviews, including one with a Kennedy neighbor who said that she heard a loud argument at the mansion on the night in question. The report also contains conflicting statements indicating that Edward Kennedy may have purposely misled detectives who were seeking to interview him.

Meanwhile, the senior Kennedy responded to the sensational report as a news release blaming the contradictions on a simple misunderstanding of the law. "None of us was familiar with Florida law," he said. But Palm Beach Police Chief Joseph Testinone said that obstruction charges may soon be laid.

According to the elder Kennedy's deposition, he woke up his son Patrick and Smith at 10:30 p.m. on March 29 and asked them out for "a couple of beers" at the Au Bar, a popular Palm Beach meeting place. In his deposition, Smith, 30, a Georgetown University medical student, said that he met a woman at Au Bar, where they drank until about 3:30 a.m., before returning together to the Kennedy mansion. Patrick Kennedy told



Kennedy talked

down University medical student, said that he met a woman at Au Bar, where they drank until about 3:30 a.m., before returning together to the Kennedy mansion. Patrick Kennedy told

police that sometime before 4 a.m. on March 30, the woman drove away from the mansion, only to return a few minutes later. The younger Kennedy stated that he then went to bed and that, on the following day, he asked Smith if he had had sex with the woman. Kennedy asked Smith, "How was she? Did you wear protection?" And he said that Smith replied, "No, but thank God I pulled out."

In the report, the woman stated that after returning from the bar, she agreed to walk with Smith to the beach house of the Kennedy house. She said that Smith asked her if she wanted to go for a swim and that he began to undress. "I got embarrassed," she told investigators, adding that she turned away to walk up to the mansion. Seconds later, she said, Smith jumped on her. She told investigators that she "was yelling 'no' and trying to push him out of me."

She was later treated for minor injuries in a local hospital and released. And according to a police spokesman, several samples taken from her were "inconclusive." Although the alleged rape further damaged the legendary family's reputation, Edward Kennedy's response to the incident could ultimately end his stated career. According to the police report, detectives repeatedly tried to contact the senator on March 31 through William Barry, a family friend who is in charge of security at the residence. In the report, Patrick Kennedy said that he was present on March 31 when Barry discussed the incident with his father, who then flew back to Washington. When police finally did interview the elder Kennedy nearly a week later in the capital, the senator said that he had been unaware that police wanted to talk to him.

And in a news release issued by his office last week, Kennedy tried to distance himself further from the obstruction allegations by saying that he thought police wanted to talk only to Smith. As well, he maintained that when police contacted the house about an investigation into a "sexual battery," he did not know that they were referring to rape. "This is nothing more than an honest semantic misunderstanding," he stressed, adding, "There is no discrepancy between what I told the police and what Patrick told the police."

Allegations that Kennedy hindered a police investigation also arose in 1969 because of the delay between the Chappaquiddick accident and his reporting of it. Some Washington analysts are now comparing the two incidents. In an article last week, Washington Post columnist Richard Cohen said that both of the Kennedy depositions indicate that the elder man deliberately misled the Palm Beach police while he prepared a legal defense for his nephew. "Kennedy had an obligation both as a citizen and as a U.S. senator to be cooperative," wrote Cohen. "But Kennedy was anything but." And in what could prove to be the senator's political epitaph, Cohen added, "You only get to leave the scene once as a public figure. Chappaquiddick was enough."

TOM FENNELLA, with WILLIAM LONTHEE  
in Washington

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WORLD

## THE UNITED STATES

# A royal conquest

*The Queen reclaims the hearts of America*

The British tabloids called it a comedy of errors. At an arrival ceremony at the South Lawn of the White House last Tuesday, Queen Elizabeth II began her 18-day official visit to the United States by following President George Bush to the podium to make a speech. The forest of microphones had been set up to accommodate the stent, two-inch body, who spoke first. As a result, when the diva-like, four-inch monarch took her place behind the lectern, the astonished audience could see nothing but her purple-and-white hat. Jokes about "the talking hat" quickly made the rounds, while London's racy *Daily Mirror* headlined the puff under the headline "Her Royal Lowness: Bush with Queen short." After several of royal etiquette occurred the next evening at a housing project in a predominantly black Washington neighbourhood "How are ya' doin'?" asked Alice Prater, a 67-year-old great-grandmother, before embracing the startled Queen and offering her chicken wings and potato salad. Under the headline "Royal Staginess," the *Daily Star* declared: "The Queen found herself in a rick-shawing bear hug by a 15-stone black granny."

The monarch took the microphone onstage as a joke. Opening an address to a joint session of Congress last Thursday, she said: "I do hope you can see me today from where you are." The packed house responded with laughter and applause before she resumed her speech.

Dressed in salmon pink with a glittering diamond brooch and a three-strand pearl necklace, she praised the democratic traditions that had the two countries and their co-operation in the Gulf War. But as a reference to the plight of Kurdish refugees, she added: "Unfortunately, experience shows that great enterprises seldom end with a tidy and satisfactory finish." For Washington's powerful politicians and social insiders, one of the top priorities of the season was the black-tie dinner and a garden party at the British Embassy. But the Queen also walked with commoners when she and First Lady Barbara Bush toured the low-income housing project and a nearby community centre. These visits were well-rehearsed affairs. Awaiting crowds behaved decorously until Prater suggested the Queen had shattered the unwritten rules of royal protocol: no one was to touch the Queen unless she extended a gloved hand, or speak to her unless first addressed.

Despite the minor misadventures of her first two days in America, the Queen's four-star, 10-day official visit was running smoothly when she arrived with Prince Philip and the Duchess at Baltimore's Memorial Stadium to watch an American League game between the Baltimore Orioles and the Oakland Athletics. The Queen had never seen a baseball game, and aides had briefed her on the rules. The two couples missed the Orioles' August before the

Meeting the A's the Queen had never seen a baseball game and aides briefed her on the rules

game. They also met players from both teams. "It was very exciting," beamed Oakland slugger Jodi Knauer. The designated first baseman for two innings in a box protected by bullet-proof glass.

Members of the White House media corps, who got more accustomed to covering a divorcee President who enjoys throwing banquets and wearing a ten-gallon cowboy hat, were mostly gracious in their coverage. How over *The Washington Post's* lifestyle writer, Henry Allen, described her as "the first our time, the enlightened ruler in a shiny glove, the crop-haired defender of an ill-fated faith, the walking logo for a country that looks like a theme park with rats."

Flung out of Washington in clear blue skies, the Queen went to Florida before scheduled stops in Texas and Kentucky, where she would visit her champion mare. At a private ceremony in Tampa, Fla., she planned to present Gulf War hero Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf with an honorary knighthood. It represented a popular claim to a feat that generally was an embarrassing success, judged by the standards of the official welcome and the delight of most Americans at the Queen's presence.

Despite its notoriety, the Queen undertook her tour with apparent reluctance. According to the *London Sun*, she was tired of official tours and would have preferred Charles and Diana, the Prince and Princess of Wales, to make the exhausting trip in her place. And to underscore the point, the newspaper ran a photo of the Prince of Wales enjoying a holiday while his mother earned on with her American tour. But any unwillingness on the Queen's part was on the way evident from her casual—or firm—her enthusiastic hosts.

REILLY MACKENZIE in Washington and ANDREW FAVILL in London

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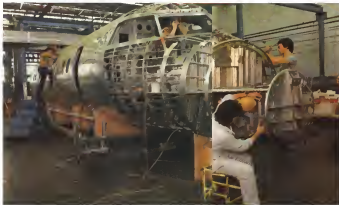
# CLOUDED DEALING

## CONTROVERSY THREATENS DE HAVILLAND'S PROPOSED SALE TO A EUROPEAN CONSORTIUM

It was over the sale of Canada's fragile aerospace industry, a company that built small airplanes and secured a timeshare (timeslot) in a global market controlled by aerospace superpowers. For since the 1970s, de Havilland Aircraft Co. of Canada Ltd., based in the Toronto suburb of Downsview, has been better known within the aviation industry as a chronic moneyloser. The manufacturers of the Dash-8 turboprop regional aircraft has been a financial drain on its past two owners—the government of Canada and, since 1988, the Boeing Co. of Seattle, Indeed, for the past two years Boeing has been trying to sell de Havilland. Last month, Boeing's executives thought they finally had a deal: a consortium composed of Italy's Alenia and France's Alcatel-Alsthom, both state-owned aerospace companies, offered to buy de Havilland for an estimated \$156 million.

But since then, the proposed sale has spawned public controversy—and intense backroom negotiations on Parliament Hill at which the prime minister is keeping the deal from moving. The controversy was triggered by the prospect some owners themselves. At an Ottawa news conference on May 16, the Europeans delivered a blunt ultimatum: either Canadian governments provide them with \$500 million in repayable loans and research grants over 15 years, or the consortium would reduce de Havilland's price to a mere pittance (supplier for its European-made planes, Fiat Spazio Cerini, chairman of Alenia, is on interview with Maclean's). "We cannot guarantee anything without an agreed support in some way." The demand argued indirectly at Investment Canada, which must approve all sales of Canadian-owned companies to foreigners.

But the Europeans have crossed an even tougher line in Ottawa's New Democratic Party premier, Bob Rae. Rae's government has



Building a Dash-8, Wilson (below) 'this company is a money-loser'

asked Investment Canada to block the sale unless the consortium guarantees job protection to de Havilland's 4,500 workers. And last week, Rae told the consortium that it would get no personal aid unless it brought in a Canadian partner. Myrielle has learned that Rae asked the Europeans to negotiate a partnership arrangement with Montreal-based Bombardier Inc., which owns private Canadian Ltd. But an executive of one of the consortium firms, who requested anonymity, "The Ontario government is now asking that Canadian assets be given. They want to re-

ceive a Canadian partner because politically it is a good thing."

The proposed sale of de Havilland is proving to be almost as politicized as the company's business prospects. One of the weaknesses of a wide range of aircraft, including the celebrated Twin Otter, the company has trained production to just two versions of the Dash-8 turboprop. It still has orders from airlines around the world for 90 planes, or 19 months of production for its workforce, which in 1989 numbered as many as 6,500 people. But Boeing officials note that de Havilland has

lost money every year since 1988, when Boeing bought it from Ontario for \$250 million. Said one Boeing executive, "The usual guess is Seattle thought de Havilland was a mistake just six months after they got into it."

Boeing spokesman Craig Martin insists that the company is firmly committed to selling de Havilland. "It is the current deal at present," he says, "we will seek other buyers." But aviation industry observers said that de Havilland would be hard pressed to find another suitor—let alone a Canadian one. "It is a pity, but the

White House thinks the new owners' plans would slash benefits of jobs, and he has urged the federal government to step in and purchase de Havilland."

That is highly unlikely. Ottawa is bent on preventing, not promoting, its stable of Crown corporations. But the proposed private de Havilland purchase still poses a political dilemma for Michael Wilson, Ottawa's new minister of industry, science and technology, who is responsible for Investment Canada. The Tories do not want to lose a high-tech manufacturing de Havilland's reputation. But they have publicly sworn off giving public money to corporations. A heavy Wilson said last week that any government funding for de Havilland would create firm existing programs that support the aerospace industry.

Although Investment Canada has never refused to approve a foreign purchase since it replaced the Pattern Investment Review Agency in 1985, it has used quiet, backroom negotiations to secure concessions from acquirers. For Investment Canada officials, who have been negotiating the terms of the de Havilland sale with the consortium for several months, Cerini's aggressive public statements demanding government financial assistance threw up a makeshift political roadblock to finishing the sale. Said one company lawyer involved in the negotiation, "The Europeans' strategy broke a rule—you don't antagonize the government guys."

Cerini, the president in the partnership of Bombardier, a manufacturing firm best known for its Challenger business jet, would neither rely on the federal government's coaction. For one thing, the Bombardier presence would temper any outcry over federal aid to foreign companies. As well, Italy and France believe that the purchase of an Ontario company by a Quebec-based firm would send a badly needed signal of Quebec business confidence in Canadian unity. Last week, Alcatel-Alsthom

problem is that no one in Canada is willing to invest," Hain. Martin, Alcatel-Alsthom's chairman, told Maclean's, "Why? Because everyone knows this company is a money-loser."

Investment Canada is expected to decide on the proposed sale after it receives the consortium's financial business plan by the end of this month. But even if the deal is approved, Alcatel-Alsthom and Alenia executives acknowledge that de Havilland will be drastically altered. The consortium is likely to shelve designs for a new generation of Dash-8 turboprop planes. Instead, it wants to build—and wants extensive Canadian government funding to help design—a 100-seat commuter jet. But the proposed changes have aroused formidable opposition and powerful critics, including Robert White, a Rae intimate who is president of the Canadian Auto Workers union, which represents 3,000 de Havilland workers.



Michael Wilson

officials were privately optimistic that Bombardier could make the sale. But when the consortiuming the Bombardier chairman (now Bombardier and Alcatel-Alsthom's names are French and business executives). Still, the Europeans fear that the continued uncertainty surrounding de Havilland's future will be bad for business. Said one consortium official, "Sure we will negotiate with Bombardier. But meanwhile, the company is sinking." As their own losses appeared to plummet that week, the Europeans were struggling to understand how they had landed in the middle of a Canadian political firestorm. Said a clearly perturbed Cerini, "I personally am expecting to find a lot of unpleasant surprises." But concessions will be needed from both sides before the welcome mat is laid out.

BRECK WALLACE in Ottawa

### PROSPECTING FOR OIL

PetroCanada, the Crown-owned energy company, filed a preliminary prospectus for its deep-sea oil and gas exploration. As a first step, PetroCanada proposes to drill 15 per cent of the company next month. While the document contains no proposal offering price, analysts predict that shares will cost about \$15 each, making them attractive to small investors.

### ON THE FAST TRACK

Two powerful U.S. congressional committees voted overwhelmingly in favor of President George Bush's request for "fast-track" authority to negotiate a free trade agreement with Mexico and Canada. Analysts said that the committee recommendations will likely be endorsed this week by both the full House of Representatives and the Senate. Under fast-track, Congress can only approve or reject any final agreement, without amending it.

### A NEW CBL DEAL

CFL teams will likely earn more than \$1 million each under a new, one-year TV contract with the CBC and TSN, a Toronto-based cable sports channel. The contract was signed three weeks after Toronto Argonauts owner Bruce McNabb signed U.S. college football superstar Reggie McCutcheon to a four-year, \$30 million deal. The previous TV deal paid teams only \$450,000 each annually.

### HARDWARE BANKRUPTCY

Montreal-based Pascal Inc., an 87-year-old, family-owned hardware-store chain that operated 21 outlets in Quebec and Ontario, declared bankruptcy, throwing 1,600 employees out of work. The firm's claims of late Eastern stores, Pascal Stores Ltd., is reflected by the action.

### STEADY RATE

After sampling about 50 per cent as a result of the January introduction of the unemployment claim annual inflation rate in April fell steady at Macdonald's level of 6.9 per cent. Among major cities, the rate was highest in Quebec City (8.7 per cent) and lowest in Toronto (4.4 per cent).

### BELIZING GLIERS

First City Industries Inc., part of the Belding family's Toronto-based financial services empire, defaulted on \$112.4 million of debt obligations held by U.S. investors. The default was the latest in a series of setbacks for First City since the Belding family announced last year that it was abandoning its high-risk investment strategies to concentrate on financial services.

# Showdown in Montreal

Memotec survives an assault from Bay Street

Ever since it stunned the business community in 1987 by winning a bidding war for control over Canada's overseas telephone links, Montreal-based Memotec Data Inc. has been wrapped in controversy. A small and lightly capitalized high technology company, Memotec bought its larger rivals and paid \$484 million to purchase Commonwealth Telephone Canada Inc., the country's major carrier of international telecommunications. In the intervening years, Memotec has

defeated those shareholders or how much stock they control. The challenge, based on falling share values, set off a furious round of publicly traded accusations and behind-the-scenes maneuvering to control shares for a dramatic showdown at the annual meeting in a downtown Montreal hotel. In the end, Baker and McKenzie managed to hang on to their jobs by winning a last-minute bid to deal with two powerful institutional investors. But in the process, they appear to have lost absolute

The new arrangement leaves Memotec in control of only six of the 13 members of the board. The Cans already held one board seat and the remaining four directorships are controlled by the telecommunications giant BCE Inc., parent company of Bell Canada and Memotec's single largest shareholder, with 33.5 per cent of the company's shares. In fact, Memotec claimed that not one of the company's directors voted for Telcelab, the major force behind Gordon's bid in last Baker and McKenzie, although spokesmen for both companies have denied the allegations. BCE chairman Raymond Cyr, however, has made no secret of his company's desire to dismantle federal regulations preventing Bell from holding a majority stake in Telcelab, and he publicly acknowledged last week that Gordon's effort had his company's "moral support." Only hours before Memotec's annual meeting,

he accused Memotec's management of a "loss of preference" as a result of excessive acquisition of small high-tech companies that have diked the profitability of Telcelab. The same criticism was leveled earlier this month by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, which questioned Memotec's practice of using profits from Telcelab to purchase other companies.

In light of what transpired at the annual meeting, Memotec's management likely will no longer be free to pursue similar policies in the future. One sign of that power shift occurred when the meeting agreed to change the company name from Memotec to Telephonic Inc., a move analysts attempt to view as signaling that the company will now concentrate its efforts on the telecommunications subsidiary that has been at the centre of the past controversy.

That is certainly the view of the company that provoked the latest bid: A.G. Gosselin, chairman, Thomas-Aliot, who spearheaded the proxy war, told the annual meeting that his firm was "completely satisfied with the result"—even though Gordon withdrew its slate of officers before the meeting, and despite the fact that the firm had to disgorge the \$400,000 it wanted for original shares. "We have been seeking one goal and one goal alone in this exercise—to bring about a change in the company's control," he said. "That change is now being proposed."

Previously, when those changes may lead to an open election, particularly since the CRTC is scheduled to review Telcelab's anti-takeover provisions, international communications later this year. Whatever eventually transpires, however, it is unlikely that Eric Baker and William McKenzie will be in line to decide Telephonic's future course as they have been in the past.

BARRY CAMEL in Montreal  
with ANDREW MURPHY in Toronto



Jessiman (left) being congratulated by McKenzie at a furious round of public accusations

been dogged by almost continual ousting from business competitors and federal agencies alike. But Memotec's beleaguered management found its highest challenge last week when the company's senior officers, chairman Eric Baker and president William McKenzie, managed to survive a bitter public struggle for control of the company launched by Toronto-based Gordon Capital Corp. "I'm not," a relieved McKenzie confirmed to more than 400 Memotec shareholders at the company's annual meeting, after narrowly blocking the coup attempt. "It has been quite a week."

It was a week that began when Gordon, leveling allegations of mismanagement, announced that it was leading a proxy fight to oust Baker, McKenzie and a third company officer from Memotec's 13-member board of directors. Gordon claimed that it was acting on behalf of shareholders who were dissatisfied with Memotec's management, but declined to

control over the controversially-placed company that holds a near monopoly over Canada's telecommunications with the outside world. The deal that sent Baker and McKenzie, and averted a floor fight, came together only hours before shareholders, analysts and critics packed the ballroom for the critical meeting. It was negotiated with the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec, the fund that owns 12.6 per cent of the company's outstanding stock, and the Ontario Municipal Employees Retirement System (OMERS), holder of 7.8 per cent of Memotec's shares. In return for the support of the two big pension-fund managers, Baker and McKenzie agreed to sacrifice two of their close allies on the Memotec board and replace them with independent directors. The Caisse chose former Air Canada president Pierre Jeannot, OMERS selected George Fether, chairman and chief executive of Toronto-based Rogers Cable Inc.



Shift change at Denson's No. 2 shift: James (below) 'they just can't compete'

## When the company goes

In Elliot Lake, civic pride is mingled with despair

For the past two years, Steven and Kimberly Zolty have spent much of their spare time installing gas panning in the basement recreation rooms of their three-bedroom bungalow. But now, the Elliot Lake, Ont., couple say that they are unlikely to finish their redecoration. Earlier this month, Steven Zolty's employer, Denson Mines Ltd. of Toronto, served notice that it will close its last uranium mine in the Northern Ontario city of 14,000 by June 1993, because its only customer, Ontario Hydro, plans to cancel its long-term uranium contract. And with unemployment in the primary work force running at 83 per cent, the Zoltys have little hope of occupying the \$11,200 they have spent to upgrade their bungalow, which they bought in 1986 for \$63,000. The 30-year-old owner says that he is angry Denson neglected to tell him, when he was hired in 1988, that Hydro's contract gave the utility the right to sever its uranium order. Says Zolty: "All Denson ever said was that they had a contract until 2013. I thought, 'Good, I can work there until I retire.'"

Although Steven Zolty, his wife and their 13-year-old son, Adam, are reluctant to leave Elliot Lake, he says that he is both young enough and skilled enough that he will find work elsewhere after the mine shuts down. But the future of the city itself is less certain. Founded in 1930, two years after the discovery of uranium, Elliot Lake grew rapidly during the late 1950s as a major supplier of uranium to the U.S. government. In 1968, the city settled its long-running wilderness of the Canadian Shield, had a population of 24,000. Later, the demand for uranium to generate electricity from nuclear power gave the community another boost. But the expanding shutdown of Denson's last remaining mine has cast a pall over Elliot Lake. "There is nothing to hope for," said Guss Vardi, a welder who first worked in Elliot Lake in 1967. "You have to wonder how the town will survive."

Elliot Lake is not only the largest of many secondary communities in Canada to have fallen on hard times. According to Denson Young, executive director of the Sudbury-based Canadian Association of Single Income Taxpayers, there are now less than 4,000 "single-income and resource-dependent"

communities" in Canada. For 1,332 of them, the population declined between 1960 and 1986, the latest year for which figures were available. Many at Canada's mining and forestry companies' reduced these operations because of uncertain government forest conservation programs. Deceased George Fether, the mayor of Elliot Lake: "Elliot Lake is a mining town. It's the future of this country, but because of the job situation, we are no longer competitive."

Elliot Lake's biggest problem is that the mining companies that firm the majority of its local economy have found they can no longer graduate students of a competitive price. In the past 12 years, the spot market price of uranium has fallen by more than 50 per cent, from about \$50 a pound. As a result, Denson has gradually reduced its operations, which once employed 3,100 people. When the company, an affiliate of Toronto-based Boreas Corp., closes the mine where Zolty works, the last 1,000 employees will lose their jobs.

Although Denson declines to make public its cost of production, analysts estimate that it is about \$25 for every pound of uranium mined. Declines William James, president and chief executive officer of Denson: "No matter how hard our guys work, they just can't compete." James adds that the Elliot Lake area owned by Denson contains only about 1.5 lb of uranium per ton. In contrast, mines in northern Saskatchewan produce up to 90 lb of uranium per ton of ore, he says.

Meanwhile, Elliot Lake's future may be by much less news. The city's other major employer, Toronto-based Nor Algon Ltd., is currently negotiating an uranium contract with Ontario Hydro. The Algon employs 647 on one mine, down from 1,000 in 1980. In 1990, Nor Algon's Elliot Lake operations also produce a low-grade, high-cost uranium, which Ontario Hydro may also choose to replace with a cheaper alternative. Despite the city's problems, many Elliot Lake residents remain fiercely loyal to their home town. "It's like wherever it takes to stay," says Dale Biers, 52, a welder who was one of 400 workers laid off by Denson last August. Ross, a father of six girls ranging in age from six months to 16 years, has alter-



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## BUSINESS WATCH

lated his unemployment insurance benefits with a succession of odd jobs. But with further layoffs coming, Rem says that he will likely take increased competition for the limited number of part-time and temporary jobs on the area.

Even so, Rem says that he is determined to remain in Elliot Lake, where he has lived since 1981, when he came to work for Denison. In 1985, Rem and his wife, Adriana, bought a two-story house in the city for \$56,000. He says that the house is now worth about \$30,000, less than the value of the mortgage. By contrast, many of his former co-workers bought their homes directly from Denison—can give their houses back to the company with no further financial obligation.

Although many residents blame Denison for the city's problems, James says that it was fortunate to assume their company would provide lifetime employment. "Anyone you open a ment, you're dealing with a displaced resource," he told Maclean's. "These guys had 30 years' not. That's pretty good."

For their part, city officials are scrambling to find other means of ensuring the city's survival. The volunteer committees have been formed to try to attract, among other things, tourists to the area's natural beauty, a branch campus of Sedgwick, Ott.-based Laurier University and light industry that can take advantage of the city's proximity to major transportation routes, including the Trans-Canada Highway. Says Donna Bontas, the city's director of business development, who co-ordinates the committees: "Most people here think that something is going to happen."

Rat cast of the hope for broadening Elliot's economic base appears to rest with the Retirement Living program, sponsored in part by government. Established in 1987, the program, which offers affordable housing and such services as store shopping, has attracted about 1,500 retired people to Elliot Lake, mostly from southern Ontario. Under the program, the province helps the housing of seniors from Denison and Ron Algon, and then charges rent ranging from \$75 a month for a one-bedroom apartment to \$450 a month for a three-bedroom house.

The program's goal is to convince as many as 4,000 retired people to leave Elliot Lake by 1994. But some of those who have already taken part in the program say that they are

sorry they did so. Marie Dendworth, for one, a 72-year-old retired secretary who moved to Elliot Lake from a senior citizens housing project in Toronto three years ago to live near younger people, says that she was surprised to learn in February that Denison was planning to leave the city. "I would never have come if I had known the town was closing down," she added. "The brochures don't tell you anything about that." For his part, Verh says that he is skeptical that the existing commercial insurance program will at Elliot Lake much good. "So you bring us a lot of visitors," says the



Room with daughters Amanda (left) and Sarah Joyal

Denison employee. "They don't sit out our porch clock between two of them. They don't put much money in anybody's hands." Verh, whose job appears secure until the next stock down next year, has already sent out more than 30 job applications. So far, his efforts have produced only a dual of rejection letters. "You don't know the town. They can't say it, but they're telling me I'm too old," says the 50-year-old writer. For Lake and others like him, fear that the survival of another mining town is at stake.

BARBARA WICKERS is in Elliot Lake with CAMERON MANNING in Toronto

## BUSINESS WATCH



## Tracking Campeau's spectacular fall

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

The most interesting thing about Robert Campeau is that his downfall is turning out to be as spectacular as his rise. The sometime superstar of Canadian real estate is now going down in flames, but staging a grand spectacle like some Wagnerian Sisyphus, pushing everything and everyone down around him.

On his way up, he sent his corporate shareholders of \$12 billion, more than the prime domestic product of most countries, buying a lifestyle that included a castle in Austria valued at \$20 million and a \$10-million house in Toronto. On Jan. 15, 1990, the profits of his empire—the U.S.-based Federated and Allied department stores chains, which he acquired only two years earlier—were mired in bankruptcy protection (Chapter 11) proceedings. Commented *The New York Times*: "It took the special genius of Robert Campeau to figure out how to bankrupt more than 250 profitable department stores."

Last week, the final chapter of the Campeau saga got under way with three separate lawsuits launched against him in Toronto and overseas by Campeau Corp. The firm is bankrupt and headed for 46 years. The first is a shareholder's action to recover \$44 million, awarded in compensation for work that Campeau was to have performed for Campeau Corp., that the lowest clause he elected to treat as an interest-free loan. The second is to recover works of art purchased by Campeau Corp. valued at more than \$1.2 million, that were previously bequeathed to him by his mother, a Portage and a Cadillac, as well as a telephone communications system.

The third and most interesting action, being taken in Lac du Bonnet, seeks another \$4.4 million that Campeau borrowed from his publicly listed company and used to acquire the 15.5 acres of land upon which he built his storybook clubhouse on the southern shore of Lake Huron, near Sarnia, Ontario. The rest of the shareholders' structure created many times over as a result of Campeau's

## Greedy and striving for position drove the Sudbury-born entrepreneur to push his luck beyond acceptable limits

insistence that he had to have an Olympic-size swimming pool on his top floor, so that he'd have a room view through overhead windows while taking his morning bath.

In fact, Campeau did not buy the land, but bought a section of land, known as a shilling, which owned the property. The shilling was a mortgage which ended only by those who were to take the ocean of their hands, in hand a tiny Lac du Bonnet, the middle European town, thus low status financial security. Campeau Corp. publicly disclosed the \$4.4-million loan to Campeau when he said the company were buying back. Campeau insists that it is his right to set off the sum against the money he claims the company owes him as compensation for the conversations under which he was recruited as chairman of Campeau Corp. in August, 1989. Meanwhile, the same corporate treasury is attempting to deal with the \$9.4 billion in overdue bills owed to more than 50,000 suppliers, creditors and bondholders.

On top of these troubles, Campeau could face a challenge from the Bank of Montreal over whether he was legally entitled to borrowing in many of his assets under his wife's name, including his 24,000-square-foot palatial

Toronto home, which also has an Olympic-size swimming pool. (It is equipped with a special ocean system, which means it requires no chlorine and is thus classified as drinking-water standard. And it has a retractable bottom, so that the water can be drained and the pool area can be converted into a ballroom.)

The issue is whether these and other assets were validly placed in his wife's name by Campeau, or if some of them can be brought back to his hands for potential personal bankruptcy proceedings. This issue would arise only if he were pushed into bankruptcy by the Bank of Montreal, which he owes nearly \$30 million, a personal debt on which he defaulted last year in January. The bank applied for a court order in Toronto to force Campeau into bankruptcy, but it has yet to complete the process by serving him with a petition that would give him eight days in which to prove his solvency.

Campeau has previously indicated that he intends to fight the current action on the basis that the Campeau Corp. shareholding was not transferred without cause and that he is therefore due an adequately high would amount to three or four years' salary, which would make up most of the outstanding loans. (The law has a fancy way of defining "just cause" for job termination, and a way of way out to include the fact that under his stewardship the price of Campeau Corp. shares dropped three in August, 1987, to \$30.38 to a low of \$5 cents three years later.) Campeau remained an active director of Campeau Corp. until the year's January board meeting, which he didn't attend. As late as last March, he was refusing to settle up on any of his bills by purchasing the disputed mortgage interest.

Although Edward Greenstein of the Toronto Globe and Mail said that Campeau had been paying most of his business property at the same time as he was increasing himself for medical reasons from appearing before a hearing of Allied shareholders on Jan. 18, Campeau's lawyers claim that his health problems are, indeed, genuine.

They say that he has recently suffered his third myocardial infarction, suggested by three almost simultaneous heart attacks which he was supposed to testify before the U.S. bank-holders committee in New York City. He would as well as 43 lawyers had signed up to challenge him every way, as a member of the Campeau Corp. board, his interest in the company was about to be substantially reversed in terms of its Canadian holdings, leaving him personally without any corporate assets, and the Bank of Montreal launched its action that ultimately could push the former real-estate titan into personal bankruptcy as a result of his own recklessness. (The bank's position is \$1.2 billion.)

Journalists and headline writers have seized on the Campeau story as a preoccupation of the excesses of the 1980s. There's no doubt that it was greed and striving for position that drove the Sudbury, Ont.-born entrepreneur to push his luck beyond acceptable limits. But perhaps only as far as his wife's name in the Campeau saga, with his name following a fatal fall from the walls of his castle—and the nation's better.

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# THE SILENCERS

A NEW WAVE  
OF REPRESSION  
IS SWEEPING  
THROUGH THE  
UNIVERSITIES

The departure of Jeanne Comanzo from her teaching job at the University of Toronto followed charges of racism—and persistent and vocal pressure by her opponents. During the summer of 1990, Comanzo, a respected anthropologist, served as curator at the Royal Ontario Museum, a time depicted the often-bantering tensions. Although the exhibition was meant to be critical of the white colonization of Africa, some protesters denounced it as racist and mounted demonstrations outside the museum. Later, when Comanzo began lecturing at the U of T's Scarborough campus, more protests erupted. Students disrupted her class and handed out letters to her. Deceased Martin, a prominent Canadian humanist who is principal of the U of T's suburban Brimley campus, said that the university administration did nothing to help Comanzo because under a new, rapidly unfolding moral order, it is considered unacceptable for a white person to be critical of minority groups. He added that the disavowal of the new restrictive codes are saying, "Nobody is allowed to do anything I disapprove of." —Sue Morley

"One evening, a large black male chased Comanzo down the hall. If she had been teaching children to whites, it never would have been tolerated."

Across Canada and the United States, many academics and people in other walks of life are finding themselves in the defensive the falling tide of what some politicians and academics refer to as the "politically correct" posture on



Demonstrators of the Royal Ontario Museum: protests about a 'racist exhibit'

issues and ideas of the day. With transgressions rising, students, political activists and academics are demanding, among other things, that sexually harassing references to crime, sex or violent psychosis be banned. As well, political correctness sustains a number of liberal causes—from literature to homosexual and native rights. They enter say that way of these groups believe that male-dominated Western civilization is the source of almost every evil in society, from violence against women to environmental pollution. For her part, Judy Wabing, a philosophy professor at Ontario's University of Waterloo who is ac-

quired in a campaign to stop the spread of the politically correct movement in Canada, says that many university lecturers are frightened that they will receive undue attacks. Said Wabing: "If I give a bad grade to a student from a minority group, then I could be labelled as a racist."

**Targets:** In recent months, the politically correct reformers have launched attacks Canada on a wide range of targets. In a speech in Winnipeg in March, internationally renowned artist Alex Colville described how demands at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S., protested the use of one of his paintings to illustrate the

In Ottawa earlier this month academic deans from 16 Ontario universities met jointly to discuss political correctness and the threat that it poses to academic freedom. Said Thomas Traves, dean of arts at Toronto's York University: "People have legitimate concerns about the curriculum, staffing and hiring arrangements." Traves added that most of the deans attending the meeting took the position that a middle ground had to be found that would balance "academic freedom against genuine intellectual challenges, which are part and parcel of a whole range of social and cultural questions."

While the politically correct movement has stirred controversy among Canadian campuses, its influence has been even more strongly felt at American universities. Informed by the reformers, at least 14 major U.S. colleges have abandoned the teaching of traditional courses, including the origins of Western civilization as a requirement for graduation, and have replaced them with so-called social justice courses on such subjects as feminism and Third World studies. And in some cases, professors who aligned to the new candor are locked out of submission or released full-time professorships (page 42).

**Pressure:** Some social commentators say that outside the hallowed halls of academe, a popular movement in North America society is putting pressure on individuals to shun habits that were once widely accepted. Groups demanding reform in the name of good health and safety, ranging from anti-smoking and rights to environmentalism are responsible for growing pressure against cigarette smoking, alcohol consumption, high cholesterol levels and even the wearing of bras and leather. Critics say that the result of the various reformers' demands amounts to a new kind of puritanism (page 42).

In Canada, critics say that the politically correct movement is growing steadily more editorial. While the reformers are often professors or senior administrators, many students say that they fully support the call for change. Alex Rodin, an editor at Montreal's McGill University undergraduate newspaper, said that among his fellow students there is a demand for "progressive change." Asked how "The debate for these social political correctness is really over left wingers squaring off right wingers. The issue is that while heterosexuals have run our society for a long time."

For his part, Dennis Patten, vice-president of academic affairs at Ottawa's

Carleton University, said that he is disturbed to see many students accusing the politically correct line. "Students are quick to move from a moral position to something that becomes censorship," Patten added. "But people should not be intimidated into silence and therefore fail to find the correct basis for a moral position."

Under pressure from the forces of political correctness, the University of Waterloo's Wabing and others say that members of university teaching staffs now are careful not to make jokes or unguarded statements about women, homosexuals or members of racial minorities. Not at all, they say, to voice opposition to the ideals of the new reformers. As a result, Wabing and others say that students and teachers who fear being denounced as racist, sexist or biased against homosexuals are being forced into silence. But Greta Hoffmann Newman, who has a senior appointment with the women's studies program at both Ottawa and Carleton universities, and who is the author or editor of several books on women's issues in Canada, said that people like Wabing are overreacting and that the balance of power in society still exists overwhelmingly with white males. Said Hoffmann Newman: "Hopefully, we can get some real change. But the intention of that 'we may be seeing a backlash' against the forces of political correctness."

At the same time, Canadian and American universities have begun to introduce codes of conduct that some professors say will restrict



Anti-smoking signs: pressure to drop bad habits

## 'ALL WE'RE SAYING IS THAT PEOPLE CAN'T BE BIGOTS ANYMORE'

what teachers can say, or not say, or certain subjects. Some professors say that if they even mention an author's sexual orientation during a discussion of his work, they could leave themselves open to attack. A list of banned guidelines drawn up by an administrative committee at the University of Toronto would define "sexual biasness" as the Commission in a form of social harassment. Under the guidelines, which the University Affairs Board is currently considering, sexist remarks by a professor could be grounds for a complaint to the univer-

sity or staff in his department, which now has 13 men and no women, he does not intend to hire any more full-time male staff members until there is parity.

As they gain strength on campuses, some women and other followers of the politically correct philosophy are demanding changes in the way textbooks are taught—and to what they are taught. And Helene Neussloff said that the traditional curriculum, which places male-dominated European civilization at the apex of human achievement, often only mentions

writers and philosophers from the ancient Greek thinker Plato to the 18th-century German philosopher Immanuel Kant have become "symbols of racism and sexism."

One of the tools the new educators use in their attack on traditional cultural values is an artistic technique known as deconstruction. In *Signs of the Times: Deconstruction and the Fall of Paul de Man*, author David Lehman writes that "to deconstruct is to debate, systematically, metaphorically, rationally." The term, Lehnman added, essentially means that "there are no truths, only civil interpretations." Typically, academic reformers use the method to attack the works of traditional writers to reveal what some deconstructionists say is the sexual and racist content of their plays and poetry.

The reformers attack modern works, as

critic light the white colonial mentality of the period. But protesters who picketed the museum said that photographs showing raped African women and pictures that depicted Africans in servile activities were demeaning to them. The protesters, largely black students and off-campus activists, belong to a group called Coalition for the Truth About Africa, also denounced anthropologist Chazotte personally.

**Battle.** The deconstructionist movement continued in the fall of 1990, when Chazotte started teaching at the University of Toronto. On one occasion, a black student shouted insults at her in class. Chazotte, while other students attacked her about the exhibit. Chazotte, who said that she was shattered by the experience, subsequently left the university as an assistant medical nurse at a hospital.

At the University of Western Ontario, Rabinson complains to be dogged by protesters. Rabinson has claimed that there is a link between race, intelligence and sexual behavior, and many students and faculty members say that he should be removed from the university. Rabinson became the target of protests in 1989 after he presented a paper outlining his racial theories at a scientific conference in San Francisco.

Rabinson, who is still conducting his research at Western, claims that on average, Oneida's male height is intelligence, while whites come second and blacks last. Although there have been many demands to dismiss Rabinson, Western's Jackson said that some staff members have dismissed Rabinson's right to state his views, no matter how objectionable they might be to some people. Said Jackson: "There is a prevailing sentiment against Rabinson. But our board would have said no."

Meanwhile, academic observers say that federal and provincial employment-equity policies have become a major force in challenging the dominant role that white male professors and administrators have traditionally played at universities. Under the Federal Contractors Program, any institution receiving a federal contract of more than \$200,000 is required to bring the number of men, women, members of racial minorities and handicapped persons to a ratio that reflects their representation in the Canadian workforce as a whole, which is still dominated by Canadians of European background. Because 29 of Canada's 56 universities receive at least



Raped Western Star, protests that the work demeaned women

\$200,000 a year in federal contracts, the program has had a dramatic effect on the makeup of university staffs. But while the sexual behavior among university teachers is rapidly changing, one still dominates the profession.

Still, some male academics claim that being quiet is destroying energy as the principal basis for being and promoting. As a result, about 200 Western students signed a petition asking Premier Bob Rae's new government not to include Ontario universities in its employment-equity program (Rae's government is

considering the petition.) Some male faculty members say that forced being quiet is frustrating the university along gender lines. The process, said Catherine MacKinnon, a philosophy professor at the University of Alberta, is "treating the university as if it were a woman."

As a result, Whiting says that many academics—fearing that codes of conduct and the growing politically correct atmosphere will leave them open to attacks similar to what one launched against Chazotte—have been silenced. She said that many male professors now will interview female students or talk with some female faculty members only in the presence of witnesses. And MacKinnon said that some professors on her campus who oppose the forces of change are reluctant to reveal their attitudes. MacKinnon said that a petition signed by 150 members of the teaching staff at the university last month

demanded that the university live and promote only on the basis of merit. But she said that many professors refused to sign. Added MacKinnon: "Lots of people with brains are scared to speak up."

**Rights.** Meanwhile, some university students say that white male faculty members have simply been asked to step aside and allow other voices to surface. Gregory Sewell, editor of *The Mirror*, the University of Toronto undergraduate newspaper, said that students will no longer accept a traditional curriculum based on the assumption that male-dominated Western civilization is unassailable and represents the highest level of human achievement. Said Sewell: "All we are saying is that people can't be bigots anymore. What is there?"

Still, those who oppose the forces of political correctness say that they fear the new reforms will stifle academic process—and bury a rich cultural tradition in the name of equality. The reformers, and MacKinnon, pose "a threat to democracy. There is a threat of Western tradition among many individuals. They are saying that our entire intellectual tradition is wrong. What arrogance!" But as the struggle between the two sides intensifies, Canadians will increasingly have to accept the middle ground—by taking the most worthy stem from the reformers while keeping the best of the Western tradition.



Whiting (left) Helene Neussloff: conflicting views over the possibly repressive effects of political correctness

ty's sexual-harassment officer and for possible discipline.

A similar code of conduct already exists at the University of Western Ontario. It makes sexual harassment and language grounds for complaint and provides for financial benefits that could otherwise lead to suspension. Under Western's code, disciplinary measures about a person's sexual orientation could lead to suspension. Said Douglas Jackson, a psychology professor at Western: "I have to measure my words carefully."

Much of the pressure for change on campuses is coming from within, who are doing more university teaching posts partly because of federal and provincial employment-equity programs. As well, feminist studies now are among the fastest-growing areas of research and study on campuses. At some universities, senior academics are taking special steps to increase the number of women on staff. Peter Scheldt, acting chairman of the religious studies department at the University of Alberta, for one, says that to increase the number of wom-

en, he says in his department, which now has 13 men and no women, he does not intend to hire any more full-time male staff members until there is parity.

As the battle heats up, Shakespeare and other writers and artists from the past are coming under attack because some feminists and other critics say that they embody white male views. Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, which was once viewed as a comedy about a spoiled woman who becomes a subservient wife, is now seen as an example of male superiority of women. Andrew Taylor, a professor of English at Trent University in Peterborough, Ont., said that Shakespeare is not likely to disappear from English literature courses on Canadian campuses. But Taylor said that rather than being taught as an example of great writing, the playwright's works will increasingly be used to teach about the evils of male-dominated Western society. According to Taylor, the debate over courses based on Western literary and cultural traditions has reached the point where, for some people, male

well. Professors at Acadia University wrote letters of protest to the university administration demanding one of Colville's racist paintings. Called *Western Star*, the painting shows a man standing beside a large transport truck, photographing a fully clothed woman. The Acadia protesters said that the painting made the woman resemble a physical object, like the truck. Last week, Colville, 70, said that there is a new conformity developing. Added Colville: "They are bullying people to make them live up with their beliefs."

**Rattles.** While feminist critics have steadily pushed inclusion at universities, black and other non-white students are also demanding change. The most lately taught battle waged so far by the forces of political correctness in Canada erupted last summer over the Royal Ontario Museum's installation of a white colonialist statue called *The Board of African*. Organizers said the exhibit, which depicted photographs of 19th- and 20th-century Canadian explorers, missionaries and colonial administrators in Africa was intended to show in a

Colville: 'They are bullying people' to reform



# A WAR OF WORDS

## ACADEMICS CLASH OVER 'CORRECTNESS'

**I**t was intended to be the academic equivalent of a pop talk. Last September, Yale college dean Donald Kagan argued a group of first-year students to study the history of Western civilization. Kagan argued that the freedom and civil liberties enjoyed by the West, have led to "a tolerance and respect for diversity unknown in most cultures." Rather than applaud Kagan's remarks (triggered in an outburst of criticism from students), the undergraduate newspaper, the Yale Daily News, later called students who denounced the dean as "racist," "misogynist" and "out of touch," while black campus activists called for a complete review of what they called the university's "racist curriculum." Kagan's offense he had painted a culture that may American blacks, feminists and visible minorities see as an oppressive vision of white elites.

To praise Western civilization, as Kagan decreed, is to challenge the inferior, un-

structured but powerful "political correctness" movement that has swept U.S. university campuses. Proponents of what has become known as political correctness, primarily left-leaning academics, feminists, minority-group leaders and student activists, say that they want to eliminate all vestiges of discrimination against blacks, women, the disabled, homosexuals and members of other identifiable minority groups. Many U.S. universities have enacted their affirmative-action programs to increase the number of faculty members from a variety of minority groups, and other institutions have adopted codes of conduct to govern on-campus behavior.

But some university professors contend that freedom of speech, one of the cornerstones of American democracy, is being stifled in order to defend minorities and victims of discrimination. They argue that as attempts to promote openness and tolerance toward women and

minorities, the advocates of political correctness are slowly creating new forms of intolerance. The critics received powerful support on May 4 when President George Bush delivered a speech during the University of Michigan commencement exercises at Ann Arbor. Said Bush: "Ironically, on the 30th anniversary of our Bill of Rights, we find free speech under assault throughout the United States. The notion of 'political correctness' has ignited controversy across the land. What began as a cause for civility has turned into a cause of conflict and even censorship."

On the campuses, professors who say that political correctness often constitutes an attack on academic standards and traditional curricula have banded together to form the National Association of Scholars. The organization, based in Princeton, NJ, has about 1,100 members. Said association research director Glenn Roberts: "The politically correct people want to change the entire curriculum. Race and gender have to be integral to every subject. The movement is sweeping because of its flat-out totalitarianism." However, Duke University English professor Stanley Fish, one of the leading advocates of the changing sea sweeping through American campuses, argues that opponents of the reforms are merely trying to protect themselves. Said Fish: "New voices are being heard at the universities, and that makes some people feel very uncomfortable. People feel themselves living in a world they never bargained for in 1968 or 1980. It's interpretational anxiety."

**Broom:** In the United States, the political correctness campaign has developed many forms, and sometimes involves new definitions of discrimination. In the fall of 1990, the office of student affairs at South College in Northampton, Mass., denounced a lot of what it called "Specific Manifestations of Oppression." Besides identifying widely accepted forms of discrimination, including sexual racism and anti-Semitism, the student affairs office added "oppression" which it defined as "oppression of the young and the old, by young adults and the marginalized." It also included "lookism." The belief that appearance is an indicator of a person's value.

On some campuses, student activists have launched anonymous attacks on professors for making what they say are discriminatory statements. The advocates of political correctness are slowly creating new forms of intolerance. The critics received powerful support on May 4 when President George Bush delivered a speech during the University of Michigan commencement exercises at Ann Arbor. Said Bush: "Ironically, on the 30th anniversary of our Bill of Rights, we find free speech under assault throughout the United States. The notion of 'political correctness' has ignited controversy across the land. What began as a cause for civility has turned into a cause of conflict and even censorship."

On some campuses, student activists have launched anonymous attacks on professors for making what they say are discriminatory statements.



Prospering students at Hampton Institute in Virginia; charges that some courses are racist

ments during lectures. During the 1987 school year, the Harvard Crimson, the student newspaper at Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., ran several articles in which unidentified students accused Stephen Thernstrom, a respected author and historian of racial and ethnic relations in the United States, of racial insensitivity. The students claimed to be affected by Thernstrom's use of the word "tolerant" rather than "tolerate American," and his use of the phrase "Oriental religion" to refer to such religions as Buddhism. As a result of the subsequent controversy, Thernstrom decided to discontinue his undergraduate course on the "Peopling of America." Said Thernstrom: "It's like being called a communist in the 1940s. Once accused, you're always suspect."

Critics of the campaign for political correctness argue that they have been harassed, intimidated and ridiculed by blacks, feminists and homosexuals on some campuses actively for expressing their views. Roberts and Fish, however, say that there are many ways academics can be punished for holding "politically unacceptable" ideas. He said that a faculty member may be denied tenure, or a job applicant may be passed over because his beliefs are regarded as objectionable. In the late 1970s, University of Toronto political philosophy professor Thomas Pangle was denied tenure in Yale largely because of his beliefs. "I was regarded as too conservative," he said.

For his part, editor-in-chief Reynolds Parley

said that he withdrew his course on race relations at the University of Michigan after black and white student activists criticized the content of the course in a student newspaper. Said Parley: "I experienced considerable hostility from a small number of people. It was too much at home to teach the course." Roberts added that the movement's impact on recent textbook publishers can be seen in the scarcity of books containing objective critiques of racism or affirmative action.

Besides trying to eliminate discriminatory behavior and attitudes among students and faculty, the new activists also question, criticize and in some cases denigrate the intellectual and historical foundations of Western thought. Said Hilbert, a professor of Afro-American history at the Florida State University in Tallahassee: "The idea that the philosophical and scientific advances attributed to the ancient Greeks were actually stolen from the Egyptians, who he claims were black Africans, Egyptian gods generally believe."

although there were blacks in ancient Egypt, the majority of the population consisted of indigenous Hamitic and Semitic peoples who eventually mixed with migrants of Arab stock. The belief that Western culture has historically been responsible for the oppression of women, blacks and disadvantaged groups has led some universities to abolish the formerly required courses on the rise of European and North American society. At Stanford University

academics who oppose the push for political correctness contend that they are defiling academic standards and freedoms. According to mainstream research director, Roberts, publicly correct academics are undermining their students rather than teaching them to be open-minded and inquisitive. Roberts added that the leading proponents of the movement are middle-aged, liberal academics who were students during the 1960s, a decade of protest, dissent and extreme liberalism on American campuses. He contends that after spending two decades arguing academic credentials and building their careers, they now possess substantial power within the universities. And they are using that power to put their beliefs into effect. Said Roberts: "The central concern is the growing politicization of American campuses."

Critics also maintain that the most disturbing element of the new movement for political correctness is its intellectual rigidity. Carolyn Pugh is a faculty member at Philadelphia's University of the Arts, and that the new politically correct campus activists rely on harassment and intimidation, rather than open dialogue, to impose their views on others. Said Pugh: "It's fascism of the left. These people believe like the Hitler Youth." Added Harvard's Thernstrom: "This is a new McCarthyism. It is more frightening than the old McCarthyism, which had no support in the academy. Now, the enemy is within." Whatever the perspective, at the end, the war over words and actions has turned American campuses into battlefronts that are unlikely to be silent for years to come.

BY ARCY JENSEN with WILLIAM LUTWIGE in Washington



Barbara and George Bush in Ann Arbor: 'a cause of conflict and even censorship'





**GREECE**

*Chosen by the Gods*

SEDUCED BY  
OVER 30,000 BEACHES,  
NO WONDER  
ULYSSES TOOK  
TEN YEARS  
TO GET HOME



ULYSSES KING OF ITHACA, THE PRODIGIOUS VICTOR OF THE TEN YEAR TROJAN WAR WHO TOOK AN LONG TO GET HOME, POSSIBLY DUE TO AN INNER WAR, A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE LONG TO GET HOME AND THE ATTRACTIONS ENCOUNTERED EN ROUTE.

A ROUTE ACROSS TURQUOISE SEAS GOTTED BY MORE THAN 1,000 ISLANDS, THE INVITATION OF 15,000 KILOMETERS OF SUN-DRENCHED COASTLINE, REVEALING THE HIDDEN DELICHTS OF 15,000 BEACHES, MEYER, ENDING SUMMERS WHERE THE SUN SHINES FOR ALL OF 365 DAYS, THERE ARE THE ISLANDS WHICH THE GODS TRAVELLING THOSE ARE THE SEAS THAT AWAIT YOU IN GREECE.

TAKE YOUR TIME-SOARING OF THE SUN, SUMMER IS LONG AND WINTER THERE WILL ALWAYS BE ANOTHER.

THE GODS COULD HAVE MADE THEIR BEACHES ANYWHERE THEY CHOSE THE COASTLINE OF GREECE.





## SAYING 'NO' TO THE OLD WAYS

### PERSONAL HABITS ARE UNDER ATTACK

The University of Toronto's rule book is closing in on Jack McLeod, and the 56-year-old political science professor says that he may be forced to resign from the job he has held for 31 years if he does not reveal his ways. In May 1990, the university introduced a campus-wide ban on smoking. McLeod smokes—sometimes cigarettes, often from a pipe—and refuses to quit. His defiance has already brought him two written warnings from the administration. But McLeod says that although he will not butt out, he is not totally unrepentant: for the past three months, he has worked with his office window open and the door locked. Once, during a long interview with a student in another room, he climbed onto a shelf and stuck his head out the

window while smoking a cigarette. A passing colleague, apparently unimpressed, reported him to university authorities. Last week, talking in his office and defiantly puffing on a cigarette, McLeod said: "It's getting very extreme and very ugly, and I may be losing the chance of resigning or showing up." Seniors everywhere, added the Regina-born teacher, had fallen victim to "a narrow-minded kind of misplaced civility."

Smokers are not alone. The personal habits, beliefs, attitudes and lifestyles of millions of North Americans have come under attack by an expanding legion of special-interest groups. Some are moderate, others are aggressive. Their targets range from smoking, drinking and medical experimentation on animals to

### Anti-fur demonstrators in Toronto: a lot to oppose health and rights

perhaps alcohol, conventional English dinner and logging. Such groups as the 6,000-member Non-Smokers' Rights Association and the 15,000-member Animal Alliance of Canada, both based in Toronto, claim that they have helped persuade governments to pass laws that have imposed public health and human and animal rights. But some educators, politicians, writers and community leaders say that single-interest movements are often paranoiac and self-righteous, and that their relentless hectoring helps to create a harmful climate of deepening conflict, resentment and polarization. And writer and Maclean's columnist George Bunt, who lives in Malibu Bay, N.S.: "We really are all mixed up in this sort of paranoia and we sure as hell are not having a lot of fun."

From Vancouver to Miami, people say that they are constantly being harassed or intimidated to change. On the streets of major Canadian and U.S. cities, animal rights activists regularly distribute handbills demanding that clothing manufacturers stop using furs and animal skins. Some animal rights activists have even accused far-right-wing writers on the streets and spray-painted their cars. More while, in newspapers, magazines and television documentaries, doctors and medical researchers were repeatedly of the dangers posed by

the excessive consumption of cholesterol-rich foods, a lack of fish and other dietary substances. Doctors, mindful of the increasing menace with low-value light beer, have begun advertising light liquors containing no more than 21 per cent alcohol by volume, compared with the 40 per cent of regular beers. Said Brian Tyrol, president of Vermont Distillers Inc. of Waterbury, Vt.: "Nobody wants to be meeting after our drink anymore."

Beyond! Behind every push for good health, clean air, pure water, the humane treatment of animals, minority rights and women's and homosexual rights, there is at least one special-interest group. In Vancouver, David Brown, chairman of the British Council of Canada last week urged consultants to how to pressure groups threatening to boycott stores that sell pharmaceuticals and cosmetics that had first been tested on animals. In Seattle, Todd Putnam, 25-year-old editor of the magazine *No Animal Experiment*, has attracted broad support among his 7,000 readers for refusing to

smoke. It was not until last month that the U.S. Supreme Court let some of the activists press on to destroy the animals. Meanwhile, at Vancouver, the University of British Columbia faculty of medicine has been targeted for years in a running battle with groups that insist that animal experimentation is both cruel and unnecessary.

Of all the special-interest groups, few have been so single-minded as the anti-smokers. In fact, and the University of Toronto's McLeod, they have gone too far. "The notion of equal rights, even equal rights under the Charter of Rights, has been pretty much hypersed," he said. "What I find unacceptable is that you don't have any rights when it comes to using a perfectly legal and advertised substance." Many of his colleagues were smokers, McLeod said. One called against "social fascism." McLeod says that smokers on longer left office hours and sends students to class late. One day by appointment, "outside if the weather is moderate or in some sheltered hallway." As



Rickips: "Some people in these environments seem very hampered."

they, among other things, justify because they cannot easily be recycled and hardwood fumigants and disposable cigarettes (despite environmental groups claim that much of the wood comes from depleted South American and Asian rain forests).

Opponents of such advocacy groups say that some are so extreme that they border on the insane. At a conference in Banff, Alta., last week on violence against women, U.S. women's rights activist Andrea Dworkin shocked even more after supporters when she said that if the law cannot jail wife-beaters, then women should kill them. The conference was sponsored by the Canadian Medical Health Association in Banff, Md., the National Institute of Health have spent 10 years in court battles with animal rights groups that were trying to save the lives of two cowardly bit monkeys. Researchers had said that in experiments aimed at finding better ways to treat human

for the widely publicized dangers of "accidental smoke," McLeod said. "Compared to what? To acid rain? To nuclear fallout? To dangerous chemicals in food? To crack and dope use?"

Right: McLeod, he has tried to fight back. On numerous nights, he refuses to participate either at Canada or Canadian Airlines International. Both smoke-free air trains. "I pay extra and take British Airways," McLeod said. But when he decided to fight all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada to determine whether or smokers had equal rights on campus with non-smokers, he could not find a lawyer to take his case. Said McLeod: "They all said this is this climate of apathy, I wouldn't even say I'd be wasting my time and money."

That climate of apathy and isolation Desmond Martin, the 53-year-old principal of the University of Toronto's Etimble College, went far beyond the passions of the smoking war.

Martin, an author and newspaper columnist, said: "What I want is a kind of egalitarianism about everything that is not related to inherent superiority of a whole range of things." Added University of Toronto historian Michael Bliss: "We have witnessed the return of the puritans. You're not allowed to sit against other people; you're not allowed to sit against gender equality."

The uproar over the 1988-1990 *Into the Heart of Africa* exhibition at Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum, and Martin, illustrated that attitude. Protesters—black and white—claimed that they feared the exhibit racist and offensive, and booby-trapped the museum for months. The exhibition was in its scheduled 39 months, but a projected North American tour was cancelled. "In fact," said Martin, "the story of the show was distorted, not against blacks but against the whites who went off to Africa in the 19th century and died there. One of my reviewers did that, and I could have argued that it was as particularly bad taste to make his memory." Said Dr. Harvey Melchior, a psychiatrist at Toronto Western Hospital: "There has been a polarization in our society. This has given rise to the belief on both sides that there are people out there who are going to tyrannize the rest of us."

That fear of extremism, said Martin, Lahn 39-year-old chairman of the communications department at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., introduced society's modernists, "who simply don't take part in debates that become strident." In British Columbia, said Lahn, the smoking debate had become a war, and the moderates had long since vanished. "On the West Coast, people make a career out of just smoking," he said. "They are passionate and they are unbridled. All of this has been not only a new puritanism but a new totalitarianism, a sort of totalitarian righteousness." At the same time, said Lahn, "we have learned that everything is bad for us, that we have the potential to do harm with just about every consumption activity we are engaged in. What this puritanism seeks out as a kind of gift."

For his part, Dr. John Savage, a Welsh-born family physician and the mayor of Burnhamthorpe, N.S., said: "We have lost a sense of tolerance in what has become a very dangerous place. We have developed a sense of intolerance that translates very good ideas into very bad ideas." Special-interest groups are dangerous, said the 58-year-old mayor, "because they reflect the level of conflict that people within the society have with one another. The more extreme people are against the worst and the least attractive."

Special-interest groups flourish, and columnist Bliss, because popular news media—instead of occasionally polling his at extremists—can appeal to "group goals." "We try to do what is certain to offend the most extreme, the conservative, improving public health—and to ignore as neo-fascists the people who argue against what has become the conventional wisdom," said Bliss. By doing that, he added, "we deny others the voice that should be

available to question all sorts of propaganda."

Some special-interest groups insisted that the public should not be required to pay the health-care costs for drunks, cigarette smokers and others whose excesses are known to be harmful. Said Ruck: "The sure that figures can be cited on liver disease, stomach cancer—all sorts of things that may be related to alcohol. Should we try to stop that on the basis that people are going to become ill and fill up the hospitals and increase the cost of medicine? I don't really think so." He added, "I think we've got to be a little more tolerant and, if outdated rules agree that people are entitled to sell themselves in their own way."

To Canadian novelist Marjorie Richler, groups mobilized against smoking and drinking are "the new health men." Richler, Richler, who has smoked cigarettes for 40 years but quit "I have never been enamored of the new puritans. Some of the people involved in these movements seem to be very humorous and rather dangerous," he added. "It's as if there will be no more jokes and all because they prefer piety and gravity. People are now drinking—what is it called?—like Heston Burger (he's not quite sure, more like root beer). Coolers, that's what they're called." The currently active

greenhouse, and Richler, "is very uncomfortable, very uncomfortable to himself, always going to the gym and swimming. They think they're going to live to 100, but they don't seem to be living much fun."

Gail Anna Porter, president of the Toronto Publishing House, says that anti-drinking pressure groups are devoted more to "the cult of the body" than to personal ethics. Said Porter: "There are all sorts of things they are all about appearance. They have nothing to do with morality." The concern about physical fitness, said Porter, "extends to everything—clothes and bodybuilding and gymnastics. The number of bodybuilding books on the best-seller lists is astounding, and there should be more than one book on the same subject. There is a whole preoccupation with body fitness—how to eat, how to avoid heart attacks, how to live longer and look well."

Pressure groups have even turned the English language into a battlefield. The fight began when feminist groups rejected traditional usage, which held that the noun "man" and the pronouns "he" and "him" did not always refer to males but in some forms were pre-



McLeod defying a U of T smoking ban after 31 years in the job

sumed to include women—as in "chairman," "husband" and "address." But in the end, tradition had to give ground to the feminists and settle for coexistence with a series of new words including "chairperson" for "chair" and "spokesperson." The matter has not ended there: the television cameraman has become a "photographer" and American soldiers no longer "marry" positions they occupy them. At several Canadian universities, students with the reflex of grammarians at the office of the "unsubperson." Some feminists have proposed that "women" should be spelled "woen."

Savage: "we have developed a sense of intolerance"



equality, off-color and ethnic jokes are now as rare in mixed company as the three-minute lunch. Mark Breslin, the mayor of 29 York, is a comedy club across Canada, and that although jokes "still do ethnic jokes, sex jokes, disease jokes and sick humor," there no longer are jokes about race, rape and abortion. Still, and Breslin, comedians are born marchers who, even if they agreed with the aims of anti-pressure groups, "would deliberately do jokes about them saying just to ensure their own sense of freedom." However, said Breslin, "there is a definite fringe element in some of the comedians and they are trying to restrict or limit the material the comics are doing. I'm not talking about bad taste—rage jokes or abortion jokes. I'm talking about trying to be less comedy nights because they reflect what their opponents call the white male point of view." Added Breslin: "As if white males or black women can't have a point of view."

For McLeod, the pressure to conform has raised contradictions. His orchestra to lead, profess support for individual freedom, for rights and freedoms and for the Constitution. But when he suggested that racism and fascism should be allowed to address his class along with Liberals, New Democrats and Tories, the students stopped "because they would be offensive to the majority." Added McLeod: "But you've got to have some place in society where you're exposed to all possible views—where anybody, even nuts and kooks, can write or speak. But I don't know where that place is going to be any."

That may prove to be as elusive as a safe haven to which to light up a cigarette.

RAE CORDELL with correspondence  
reports

## KURT RUSSELL • WILLIAM BALDWIN • SCOTT GLENN JENNIFER LEIGH • REBECCA DEMORNEY DONALD SUTHERLAND AND ROBERT DE NIRO

Silently behind  
a door, it waits.

One breath of oxygen  
and it explodes  
in a deadly rage.

In that instant

It can create a hero...  
or cover a scandal.



BY DON HOWARD

## BACKDRAFT

ORIGINAL CASTING BY JIM HARRIS  
DIRECTED BY THE GREAT DIRECTORIAN GRAHAM YERGEN  
NEW CAST  
KURT RUSSELL • WILLIAM BALDWIN • SCOTT GLENN • JENNIFER LEIGH • REBECCA DEMORNEY • DONALD SUTHERLAND • ROBERT DE NIRO  
CASTING BY JIM HARRIS  
PRODUCED BY JIM HARRIS  
WRITTEN BY JIM HARRIS  
COMING THIS SUMMER

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The International Series introduces the driver to a new standard of convenience. For example, optional Heads Up Display. An electronic hologram which projects speed, signal indication and other data directly onto the windshield. For the driver it means active safety. Finally, driver comfort has been enhanced. The power articulating seat has adjustable power headrests, as well as lumbar, back and side bolsters.

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A technical knockout.



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Cutlass Supreme  
The New Generation of Oldsmobile



Caney stopping a Penguin shot; Gaisney (below) disciplined and aggressive

## SPORTS

# Defying the odds

## Two NHL upstarts vie for the Stanley Cup

For nearly a quarter of a century, the Stanley Cup has belonged to an exclusive group of hockey clubs. The top 22 National Hockey League franchises were won by just six teams: the old-time Canadiens, Oilers, Flyers, Flames (late), Montreal Canadiens (early), New York Islanders (early), Philadelphia Flyers (late) and Boston Bruins (early). But this time around, the postwar's traditional powerhouses all lay squashed and, instead, the best-of-the-best series turned into a showdown between two unexpected contenders—the Pittsburgh Penguins, who finished the regular season with the seventh-best record in the 21-team league, and the long-shot Minnesota North Stars, who were 36th. But although the Penguins and the North Stars are surprising contenders for Lord Stanley's silver trophy, they are not shakers in splitting the first two games last week, the upstart teams launched what could turn out to be the most exciting Stanley Cup race in recent memory.

The unexpected first-round hockey enthusiasts in Minnesota, whose home-town fans joined the Metropolitan Sports Center in Bloomington after staging previous parties in

the stadium's parking area. At Pittsburgh's Civic Arena, an Elton John imitator danced alongside fans and thousands of fans from the without crowds. The first Stanley Cup final on-ice battle between two U.S. based teams, and the possession of the Calder Cup, North Stars, sharply increased American interest in the series. SportsChannel America, which holds U.S. television rights to NHL games, said that the series had generated three million new subscribers since Minnesota advanced to the final, and that advertising revenue was up by 10 percent, to \$2.2 million, from those earned from last year's final between Edmonton and Boston.

The reaction of Canadian fans to the all-American Stanley Cup final was mixed. Sid Lons Goss, 54, a cross-country consultant in Calgary, "I haven't followed the Stanley Cup since Calgary was eliminated." He added, "I know most players on American teams

are Canadian, but I am not as interested when no Canadian cities are represented." For his part, Brent Hughes, a 26-year-old home-owner north of Montreal, said that he was disappointed by the playoffs, but that he was glad to see his city's Canadians were eliminated. "I've lost interest," he said.

Sid DeLo, a 35-year-old Montreal stockbroker, said that the series offered "a nice change from the usual teams," and added that he was backing the North Stars because Minnesota's coach, Bob Gaisney, who retired as a player two years ago, is a former Canadian star. Sid Chabry, "The North Stars play my style. They are as aggressive and disciplined as he was. It's his to see them play."

Indeed, these traits were clearly on evidence during the Stars' 5-4 victory in Game 1 of the final last week in Pittsburgh. The North Stars were tied with penalties that set up a two-on-one advantage late, on both occasions, their tenacious penalty-killing kept the Penguins from scoring. And in the dying seconds of the game, with Pittsburgh furiously attacking the North Stars net at search of the tying goal, Minnesota's fierce checking and the skill of goaltender Joe Conney preserved the visitors' victory.

In the second game, last Friday Pittsburgh center Mario Lemieux spoiled the Penguins' victory with a sensational goal that inspired his aggro teammates and decimated the 16,148 fans. After falling behind 3-5 in the first two games, Minnesota scored early in the second and had scored the consolation from the seemingly defenseless Penguins. But with the North Stars in the attack, Lemieux pulled up a loose puck along at his own end and, in a stunning split effort, skated and two Minnesota defencemen and dropped a backhand pass to a sprawling Caney. The Penguins scored one more to win 4-1.

The roots of what now is being called the Minnesota Miracle match back to last summer, when George and Gravel, the North Stars' owners, threatened to move the franchise to San Jose, Calif., because of declining attendance at the Bell Center. Instead, the NHL offered the brothers an expansion franchise in St. Paul and teams to help the players in the North Star organization in return for joining the team in Minneapolis.

St. Paul. After a crushing series of transactions, George and Gravel, who are now in St. Paul, a millionaire property developer who now has a house in the



Minneapolis area, purchased the North Stars and established Bobby Clarke, formerly of the Philadelphia Flyers, as general manager. Clarke is now head coach. Gaisney was head coach. Hockey analysts predicted that the two men would improve the fortunes of the floundering franchise.

The North Stars did improve, although on a night snap. They suffered through a dismal early season and had the worst record of the 16 teams that qualified for the playoffs. But in the playoffs, the North Stars defied the odds and became goal-scoring demonstrators unexpected reserves of skill and determination.

Most hockey experts gave Gaisney and Clarke credit for the transformation. As a Montreal Canadiens, Gaisney won the Frank Selke Trophy as the NHL's best defensive forward five times. The fearless, smooth style that Gaisney showed as a player appears to have rubbed off on the North Stars. It enabled them to upset Chicago, which finished the regular season with the league's best record (30 wins) in the regular season, compared with Minnesota's 6th. Should do some thing against the second-seeded St. Louis Blues (16 wins). Finally, in a staggering upset, the North Stars defeated the Oilers, the defending Stanley Cup champions.

The North Stars' success was also boosted by shrewd player acquisitions and by the emerging talents of rising players. Last season,

Clarke signed veteran line agents Brian Propp, 32, and Bobby Smith, 33. The two veterans added experience and key goals to the Minnesota attack. As well as Brian Bowers, the team's leading playoff scorer, and defenseman Mark Tarkenton, Minnesota under Gaisney's tutelage. As a result, the North Stars gradually built up an efficient scoring machine, led by Bowers and center Steve Stastny and Dave Gagner. Gaisney, Tarkenton anchors a return that has kept most opposing teams away from Calgary.



to any other year. Pittsburgh might be the underdog. Like Minnesota, the Penguins have spent 23 seasons in the NHL without ever winning a Stanley Cup. As well, Pittsburgh also achieved a career success with a largely renowned management. Greg Fritsch, the general manager, is in his second year with the team and the past season was coach Bob Johnston's first with the team.

But if the Penguins had no advantage, it was the 38-year-old Mario Lemieux, the star, who had scored twice in the league's second-most potent offense line after the Los Angeles Kings' Wayne Gretzky. As the final series began last week the last news for the North Stars was that Lemieux appeared to have returned to focus after recovering from a nagging back injury. And his brilliant goal on Friday confirmed that diagnosis. Sid Lemieux scored his first Stanley Cup goal. "There are a lot of players who have great careers and never get the chance. You have to enjoy it while it lasts." For these unlikely Stanley Cup contenders, the good times have lasted much longer than they expected.

JAMES DEACON with GARY ATWELL in Montreal and MARK MOSKOWSKI in Calgary

## FACING OFF IN THE COURTS

Contract disputes and player strikes have long been a troublesome feature of professional sports. But the National Hockey League is currently facing an unusual challenge: a revolt by some of the league's reformed players. On April 26, hockey greats Gordie Howe, Bobby Hull, Carl Sauer and four other former NHLers launched a suit in the Ontario Court of Justice against the NHL. The suit, which is scheduled before its first hearing on June 18 in Toronto, claims that during the 1980s the defendants allocated nearly \$25.4 million in surpluses from the plan and allocated the money to serving other things, paying their outstanding obligations under the plan. Former NHLers, a delinquent on their Stanley Cup-winning Toronto Maple Leafs team during the 1960s, said the NHL "was an ongoing racket, which were generated by our money, to be returned to us."

For his part, the league denied any wrongdoing and launched a counterattack. In a May 1 letter addressed to "all present and former NHL players," Begley wrote that "not one cent of money contributed by or belonging to, former players has been

used to fund benefits for current players." NHL officials said that the pension charity allows the league to use surpluses as long as all other pension commitments are met. The league announced in April 30 in Toronto that it planned to sue The National, the Chicago-based daily sports newspaper, its publisher, Frank Deford, writer Lester Kinsman and two former Boston Bruins, Dave Forbes and Bill Flett. Deford, who is now in Montreal, is the lead following the April 30 publication of an article in The National about the retired players' complaints, which the league alleged in Montreal. The league has until May 30 to decide whether to pursue the suit.

Over the years, NHL pension benefits have

fallen far short of those offered by major-league baseball and some other professional sports. Howe, 53, who retired in 1980 after 36 NHL seasons, scored a record 861 goals and was regarded as one of the game's greatest players, but received only \$13,000 a year. Hull, 52, retired in 1981 after 16 seasons, scored 363 goals and was regarded as one of the game's greatest players, but received only \$13,000 a year. Sauer, 52, retired in 1981 after 16 seasons, scored 363 goals and was regarded as one of the game's greatest players, but received only \$13,000 a year. Sauer, 52, retired in 1981 after 16 seasons, scored 363 goals and was regarded as one of the game's greatest players, but received only \$13,000 a year. Sauer, 52, retired in 1981 after 16 seasons, scored 363 goals and was regarded as one of the game's greatest players, but received only \$13,000 a year.

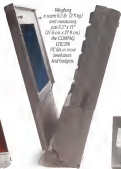
to Mark Begley, assistant to the executive director of the Major League Baseball Players' Association, all pension surpluses are reinvested in the plan or paid out in bonuses to pension participants. "The NHL says it has a second legal challenge. Forbes, now a financial planner in Woodland Hills, Calif., told Montreal's that U.S.-based NHLers now players are watching the Toronto lawsuit with interest. He said that U.S. pension laws are more strict than those in Canada, and added "It is possible that the NHL will be forced to pay the pension benefits to the United States."

J.D.

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# The Fourth Estate and libel chill

BY GEORGE BAIN

A new group, Writers to Reform the Libel Law, has set out to persuade the government of Ontario that the province's laws of libel and slander are "outdated, unworkable and unfair" and have to go. They have issued a manifesto in which they say in the preamble: "We believe that free expression of ideas, the free flow of facts, is what makes a democratic society possible, we also believe that this free flow is what a democratic society is for. The current law puts freedom of expression at jeopardy."

Could any media person any less than that—permitted just a small quibble over whether it isn't oversteering matters to elevate freedom of expression to what a democratic society is for, rather than leaving it simply as a constitutional element? And, permitted, too, the mild observation that, while a free flow of facts certainly is a Good Thing, what is at issue in court libel actions is not so much the flow of facts, but whether the facts are really facts? And, again, permitted to question if freedom of expression is so endangered as they make out?

In a just published book, *The Right to Be Wrong*, and the Committee: *Freedom of the Press in America*, Louis A. Powe Jr., who teaches in both the law school and the department of government at the University of Texas, begins his chapter on libel with these words: "As envisaged by its origin, no legal cause so influences the press as does libel." He says later: "For all the wailing words, libel is all but an insignificant bug in the statistics of American courts. We just read more about it because it affects the press, and the press sometimes, by becoming wrong, that anything that affects it is important to us, too."

Extrapolating anything Canadian from American evidence is a delicious journalistic practice. But observation says that the bug/libel makes at our court statistics is no more significant. What is certain is that we have a good deal of what libel worries them are, and for the reason Powe gives—media fascination with media interests. What is also true is that we are

*One reason for the recent outcry from the media about the law may be a simple case of self-interest—and some hefty suits*

leaving more and more about the illiteracy of the present law and the chill effect it is alleged to have on vigorous journalism, with a consequent effect on democracy itself.

One reason for the current worries about a supposed chill may be a law recent largely libel suits. Another worry is that a constitutional right of freedom of the press—as distinct from a common-law right—is now bare since 1982. There has been consequent media interest in seeing the parameters of that constitutional freedom set as wide as possible.

The first complaint of the Writers to Reform the Libel Law is that there is no definition of libel, no definition of reputation and its worth, no guidelines to say which complaints are trivial and which are worth a court's time. From a less self-centred viewpoint, the latter parts of that might be seen as uncertainties capable of being resolved—and not just at libel suits—except in the legal process itself. As to defining the thing itself, John J. Robb, one of Ontario's leading counsel, once recited to a newspaper group this classic definition: "Any printed words which tend to lower a person in the estimation of right-thinking men, or cause him to be shunned and avoided, or expose him to hatred, contempt or

ridicule, or disparage him in his office, trade or calling, constitute a libel." The law, he said, "proceeds on the theory that every person has a legal right not to have his reputation wrongly assailed."

He went on to say: "Of course, a true statement of fact is not actionable, but unfortunately, in our law, the onus is on a defendant in a libel action to prove that the statement of fact is true." The writers group goes far beyond complaining about that so-called onus-on-us, and asserts fairly that "truth is no defence." That not only contradicts Robb's, but most people who wrote about the subject. Clare Beckett, a former professor at Dalhousie University's faculty of law, said in *The Law and the Media* (1982): "Justification is the defence which maintains that the words which were published were true in substance and as fact. It is an absolute defence and will not even be defeated if it is shown that the words were published with malice."

Having said their dissenting piece on truth as a defence, the writers also suggest—before writing out what they think a new libel law should contain—that some libel laws should be repealed because there are already laws in Ontario against malicious falsehood. If taken seriously, as not even they seem to do, that would leave a party claiming defamation having to prove not only that a statement was false, but also that it was made through malicious intent. In those circumstances, getting malice for just about anything written or spoken would be a far more hope.

The landmark decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in *The New York Times vs. Sullivan* did not affect that concerning at least public officials in 1964. As Powe comments in his chapter on libel: "In its early days, the 'actual malice' standard seemed high enough to preclude all but a remarkable number of judgments." But later judgments by courts still striving after the right balance between a constitutional right of freedom of expression, and the private right to have a good reputation blackened, somewhat moderated the 1984 effect. Nevertheless, in the process the burden of proof placed on the media to prove truth when challenged in court disappeared.

It is not an original thought here, but one picked from Richard Kluger's 1986 book, *The Paper: The Life and Death of the New York Times Herald Tribune*, that the reason for the so-called onus-on-us was "a jurisprudentially unworkable one." The argument had been made again earlier by the Herald Tribune's own lawyer, E. Douglas Hamilton, who had only one lifetime as 29 years in a co-authored book, *Libel Rights*. There, Karpovitch, he depicted the publisher of an alleged libel standing in the shoes of a prosecutor. The libel, if there was one, caused it at someone's being accused in public of bad conduct. Therefore, the traditional presumption of innocence and proving guilty should be in favor of the individual against the media entity.

It's a thought—not that the Writers to Reform the Libel Law are likely to waste much time in it. Having decided that, with everyone's reputation safe in their hands, Ontario could get by even with no libel law at all.

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## PEOPLE

### NO MORE COCKTAIL ORDERS

A rock group's success has become a Wopking club's loss. The five-member Crash Test Dummies, who recently toured Ontario and Quebec, have been so popular since last month's release of their first album, *The Ghosts that Haunt Me*, that three of them have quit their jobs at Whaling's Spectrum Cafeteria. Lead singer Brad Roberts, 27, and backup singer Elan Field, 24, left bartending positions, while bassist Don Roberts, 24, gave up checking coats. Said Brad Roberts: "It's the first time in the four years we've been together that we could quit our jobs."

### Effectiveness

Australian actor Bryan Brown has to compete for attention with the special effects in his new movie, *FX 2*. But Brown, who recreates the role of film classroom killer Tyler from the 1996 thriller *FX*, says that he is happy to share the limelight with such limited stunts as a robotic clown and a weapon disguised as toilet paper. Said Brown: "The movie is about drama. We show the audience how a big effect can be created by a small thing." Brown stresses that Rolle is more than just a typical psycho action-pictate here. Declined the 43-year-old actor: "He has to get things done fast and make use of what's around. That sort of ingenuity makes him more interesting than someone who just picks up a gun and shoots." And the actor does perform his own fight scenes. Said Brown, who also was executive producer of the movie, which he shot in Toronto: "It's a good chance to roll around and get a few bruises. I don't want the stuntmen to have all the fun."



Brown: sharing the limelight

### DOUBLE EXPOSURE IN A DARK DEBUT

In her stage debut at Ottawa's National Arts Centre, Erica Elen, *Northwest's* longtime host, exposes a darker side of her chipper personality. Playing a dominating prostitute in Brad Brown's award-winning play, *Unidentified Woman Remains* and the *True Nature of Love*, which goes to Montreal next week, Elen, 26, bares her chest and simulates oral sex, but insists that she is not trying to change her image. Declined Elen, who is also a singer: "I like trying different things. The audience is completely awestruck."



Elen: showing a less chipper side of her personality



Madonna: undressing for the camera

### TRUTH AND UNDERWEAR

At the Cannes film festival last week for a special screening of her documentary, *Truth or Dare*, Madonna displayed her underwear, held a party with writers and in leather jock-strap and posed for hundreds of paparazzi cameras. But her outrageous antics caused serious disapproval. Veteran Italian director Marco Ferreri, whose explicit movie, *The Truth*, is in competition, expressed resentment at all the attention surrounding *Madonna's* former pop icon. He complained: "Madonna is taking the bulls by my film." And said in the face of conviction.

### The company of realists

Oscar-winning Canadian director Cynthia Scott has accomplished an impossible feat. Her comic about eight stranded writers on who got to know one another in the countryside, *The Company of Strangers*, opened recently in New York City, and it has moved the city's jaded audiences. Said Scott, 34, who lives in Montreal: "People have been doing something that New Yorkers absolutely do not do—applaud at the end." Explained Scott: "There isn't no big story. There isn't no action. There isn't no sex. But you feel there are people living their lives."

# Feminist fast lane

A pair of fugitives discover themselves on the road

Two sympathetic outsiders ride into the hot, dusty heart of the American Southwest, chased by a gathering storm of state and federal authorities. It is a familiar Hollywood scenario—the action-buddy-road movie. But what makes *Thelma & Louise* different from just about every other film of its kind is that the buddies are women. Grease Dams and Sarandon portray best friends who also are venturing escape from their soul-crushers. A violent incident transforms their holiday into an action odyssey that takes them from Arkansas to Arizona. The movie is funny, sad, sexy and exhilarating—an inspirational gem with surprising emotional depth.

And as its own codebook says, *Thelma & Louise* looks new ground for American cinema. While recalling the neorealist romance of *Romeo and Clyde* (1937), the despair of *Easy Rider* (1969) and the sublimated lust of *Shark Girls and the Seaanigans* (1969), it puts a sexy, feminist spin on the outlaw myth "It's not of law, *Bonnie and Clyde*," Davis and in *Scarlett* (1935), *New York, New York*, where British director Ridley Scott and his stars directed the film with the media.

Dams and Sarandon are as well together as ever. They generate a combustible female chemistry that is rare in Hollywood movies. And most remarkably, their performances inspired the script by Scott. A former art director, Scott, 51, has a reputation for being more passionate about machines and scenery than about actors. His two best-known films, *Alien* (1979) and *Blade Runner* (1982), are cold, science-fiction thrillers set in science-fiction worlds. *Thelma & Louise*, Scott's cinema takes a chaotic journey into the American West, a land-blessed (and-sage of big skies and red deserts, with a delicate balance of violence and the sound track. The breathtaking imagery—a wide-screen world crisscrossed by highways, freight trains



Sarandon (left), Davis: a sexy, feminist spin on the outlaw myth

and sharp chrome trailer tracks—only drives the intensity of his two heroines into stronger relief.

Adopting a homey, accented accent that makes "speed" sound like "speddy," Dams plays Thelma, a blond housewife. She is married to Jerry, an abusive, cocaine-driving carter dealer played by Christopher McDonald, whose overacting makes the only false note in the film. As Louise, Sarandon winks a familiar face as a bawdy, worn-out waitress.

The movie begins as a disapproving light-hearted treat. Thelma and Louise are two southern girls who just want to have fun. But Scott's script turns Thelma's husband from a carter dealer while giving the driver a broken car, making her a woman of means. And the ending—which is uplifting, without being happy—marks a brave departure from Hollywood formula. The movie is a headbanger, said Sarandon

highly, the women stay on a roadside kiosk-truck and order dragonfly drinks—Wild Turkey for Thelma, tequila for Louise. Thelma, declaring that "This had to be up to my tits with sex," Thelma steps out of character and onto the dance floor with a cowboy hunk. After making her drink and dizzy, he takes her outside and tries to rape her on the hood of a parked car. Louise intervenes, pushing a revolver. The man backs off. But the women leave, he remains obviously upset. Louise fires, killing him with a single shot.

That act—and the sexual violence that precipitates it—appears like a lightning bolt through the movie, creating a dark subtext for a film that is otherwise brimming with comic energy. Arguing that they cannot repeat the taking to the police, Louise convinces Thelma that they should head for Mexico. The women hit the highway with Louise chomping at the wheel and Thelma beside her, knocking back miniature bottles of Wild Turkey. Along the way, Louise has a poignant but fleeting reunion with her boyfriend, Jimmy (Michael Badalucco). And Thelma enters a sexual encounter in a motel room with a young driver named J. D. (Brad Pitt), who poses as some advice that she later finds out is a totally unpleasant experience.

As the women get into deeper and deeper trouble, a paternalistic director, played by Harvey Keitel, establishes phone contact with them and tries to persuade them to give themselves up. Thelma & Louise is the second movie released in this past month about two women who are forced to go to the police after one of them kills a sexually abusive male. The other is *Witchy* (1991), starring Dams, Grease Healy—and Keitel, again, as a housewife controller. But in that movie, the two women commit depression-induced murder and embrace it; they try to cover up the crime, which is no more than a prelude to an unrelenting tragedy of errors. In *Thelma & Louise*, the women become disorienting road travelers, smugging cars of women.

The movie also takes the clichés of a male buddy movie and gives them a subversive twist. In one scene, the heroines leave a trucker trailer while giving the driver a broken car, making her a woman of means. And the ending—which is uplifting, without being happy—marks a brave departure from Hollywood formula. The movie is a headbanger, said Sarandon

"not only because two women are playing cowboys in a cowboy movie with cars, but because it has an ending that is not the usual status ending at a time when the American public is completely uncomfortable in terms of what they will take."

Sarandon actually talks like that in a number-one scene that tries to keep up with a lively, political intelligence. Sitting in a New York hotel room, the actress, 44, looks demurely at a basic white shirt embroidered with ornate, black night and all running shoes. "My

second like this estate character study of two small-town women. Then you'd get to the set, and Ridley would have some fun around the car. And now a man's going to go through this shirt. And then there's a car chase. And all around in what we have the same talk about sex or something."

In New York, Davis, 34, was wearing a white T-shirt, olive jacket and flimsy skirt that stopped at mid-thigh. She felt tall, she is at once grumpy and glamorous, rarely taking on an aggressive smile. Shooting *Thelma & Louise* was grati-

fication. "I've never done a car chase before and I've respected it. But I'm not going to tell you that he's a feminist." But she added: "If I had been directed by a really serious feminist, it would have been a car chase. It's a political statement. And if Ridley had two blackbills, he might not have gotten some of the stuff that we added. If anything, this movie shows that people coming from completely different perspectives can create a third thing—something that we know is better."

In *Thelma & Louise*, the two women have a sex appeal that recalls with Hollywood tradition. Their complexions seem crunched more by sun and dust than by cameras. Sarandon comically shows her age. And Dams—whose character undergoes a coming-of-age—nally gets the star treatment she deserves. The actresses meet attractive with each scene as her character evolves from wife to road-warrior. And her transformation is captured with a close-up shot that is keeping with the film's feminist spirit. During Davis's first scene with Brad Pitt, the camera does on his chest, not hers. "He shows more skin," laughs Davis. "I got jealous of Brad's lighting."

Strong female roles, like those in *Thelma & Louise*, are rare in Hollywood, where conventional wisdom is that men jack more punch at the box office. But both Davis and Sarandon question that assumption, claiming that the male star system gets the credit for a hit movie. "Patrick Swayze was the hot property after *Ghost* and *Damn*," says Sarandon. "But *Damn*—I got more screen time, like, like, like—but it was Kevin Costner's movie." Hollywood's male supremacy has far-reaching implications. The actress added: "If the movie business were to realize what's better, we would not end up playing John Wayne in the Gulf and we would not think just of a woman for a long time." "I'm not sure if it's the best of the Hollywood stars to publicly protest against the Gulf War. It was unusually lovely," she recalls. "We were so terrified."

On screen, Sarandon and Davis stir up their own desert storm. Some critics have called *Thelma & Louise* a male-bashing movie. Sarandon says that it is about "self-defense only." But she cautions that it does not necessarily herald a new age of enlightenment in Hollywood, which she suggested. Because the movie is because of its action, not its ideas. "We're dealing with systematic racism," she said. "If Hollywood just woke up to it, it's probably because we blew up a truck."



EVAN D. JOHNSON in New York

audience showed me this morning," she said, explaining that the shirt and the program were Michael's. They presented Davis last year-old daughter, Lisa, and the pair stare came from her two-year-old son, Jack.

The screen reveals that the actually had "serious messages" about making *Thelma & Louise* with Scott. "One was this: that it would have to be a beautiful celebration of violence," she said. "And of like we've just after this war in the Persian Gulf. I didn't think that was the direction to go in." Added Sarandon: "My character had to be a journey, asking what makes women victims and why are they have a right to do this."

After reading the script by screenwriter-screenwriter Kate Killen, the pair's two stars were not prepared for what awaited them on set. Sarandon said that the director kept saying scenes that was not in the script, often involving big trucks. "We were just vehicle-maniacal after a while. But once you realize it's about that you just surrender to this driving off. We got down with the guys and weren't quite so giddy," Davis, meanwhile, recalled that when she first read the script, "it

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Mistry: charting a series of personal and political crises with sensitivity

## BOOKS

### Indian odyssey

*An ordinary man struggles with turmoil*

SUCH A LONG JOURNEY

By Rohinton Mistry

(McClelland & Stewart, 239 pages \$16.95)

**I**n the opening pages of *Such a Long Journey*, Toronto-based author Rohinton Mistry's first novel, Bombay-based clerk Gurdas Nohi enjoys a brief moment of peace. As he offers his morning prayers to Akbar Maada, the supreme deity of the Dastan-e-Akbar religion, the book shows how the Dastan-e-Akbar rituals of consecration. "There was something reassuring about it," he reflects. "Always, the spurious were first. The coming of the crown came later." Such tranquility is at times also fleeting. For the next several months—and for the duration of *Such a Long Journey*—the clerk's life is turned upside down by a series of personal and political crises. Mistry, who emigrated from India in 1975, charts that turmoil with sensitivity and style.

In his 1987 literary debut, the internationally acclaimed short-story collection *Twelve Men From Ferozabad*, Mistry had used 11 motifs, featured, addressing stories about the residents of a fictional apartment complex in his native Bombay. Now, focusing his novel on the hopes and dreams of an individual and that person's anecdotal family, Mistry explores more deeply the themes that he touched upon in his short stories. Chief among those is the question of how people react when their world begins to spin out of control—and the lengths

to which they will go to regain a sense of order in their lives. Pervaded with references to the political turbulence that has dogged India, *Such a Long Journey* is a complex, vibrant portrait of a troubled man living in troubled times.

The novel is set in 1971, the year that India went to war to help what is now Bangladesh secede from Pakistan. Initially, that conflict barely touches Nohi's life. A father of three, he is personally wrestling with the grueling effects of poverty—living up for fifty buses, subsisting what little cash he can afford to serve his parents, selling his possessions to buy medical supplies. Even at home, he finds little peace. A neighbor named Mr. Rabahi is constantly picking fights with him. And against the wall according his apartment building, poverty-stricken constantly step to create attracting swarms of mosquitoes and keep Nohi up half the night "scratching and sweating and cursing."

Those everyday frustrations and indignities are slowly taking their toll when a series of even graver misadventures converge to test Nohi's stamina. His young daughter, Rubina, develops a restricted, life-threatening illness. His eldest son, Saleem, indignantly defies his parents' wishes and turns down a long-sought offer to attend a prestigious college. And Nohi's best friend, a retired army major named Jaggi Bhatnagar, disappears. When Bhatnagar finally contacts Nohi, it is to say that he is performing undercover work for the government, and that he requires a favor that may

prospect his life security and peace of mind that bank clerk will possess.

As Nohi ponders the "sorrow and disappointment piling up around him, making him so, threatening to crush him," Mistry skilfully and compassionately draws out his character's humanity. At times, Nohi merely copes with crises, but at others he responds with magnanimity and faith. Along the way, he is helped—and occasionally hindered—by a cast of memorable characters. Among the more colorful ones is his exuberant workmate Dhandagi, who comforts Nohi with the promise that "under my wing you will be safe—little safely, but safe."

Equally memorable is Mistry's concise portrayal of Dhandagi's headstrong wife, who secretly plots to help her husband with a unique combination of black magic and white love. As Nohi's problems mount, Mistry leaves unanswered the question of whether it is Nohi's fate or his spouse's greed to overshadow elements that ultimately guides them through a trying period. What is significant, Mistry seems to be saying, is not the road traversed, but the conviction and the determination of the travelers themselves. When, towards the book's end, Nohi boards a train to visit Bhatnagar in prison, he tells himself solemnly: "Would this long journey be worth it? Was any journey ever worth the trouble?" A nonetheless, gracefully written trek through a rocky period in one man's life, *Such a Long Journey* is a rewarding literary excursion.

VICTOR DUTER

## Maclean's

### BEST-SELLER LIST

#### FICTION

- 1 *As the Crow Flies*, Archer (2)
- 2 *Immortality*, Auster (2)
- 3 *Elephant Song*, Lewis (2)
- 4 *"If" is for Harlequin*, Gyles (2)
- 5 *The Sirens of Bell*, Edinger (2)
- 6 *Chinese Love*, Thomas (2)
- 7 *The Psalm*, Melner (2)
- 8 *News from a Foreign Country*, Cerny, Maniot (2)
- 9 *Final Cut*, Night (2)
- 10 *The Newborn Government*, Sinden (2)

#### NONFICTION

- 1 *Henry Reagen: The Unofficial Biography*, Kille (1)
- 2 *The Commanders*, Woodard (4)
- 3 *Love John*, Day (2)
- 4 *You'll Never Get Rich in This Town Again*, Fildes (2)
- 5 *A History of the Arab Peoples*, Stevens (2)
- 6 *Words with Power*, Fry (2)
- 7 *Chesham's A Life*, Gilbert (2)
- 8 *Life After Death*, Mayne (2)
- 9 *Honeycomb*, Anshutz (2)
- 10 *Arms and the Man*, Leitch (2)

Continued on next page

Compiled by Susan Buchanan



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